

SEPTEMBER 25, 2006

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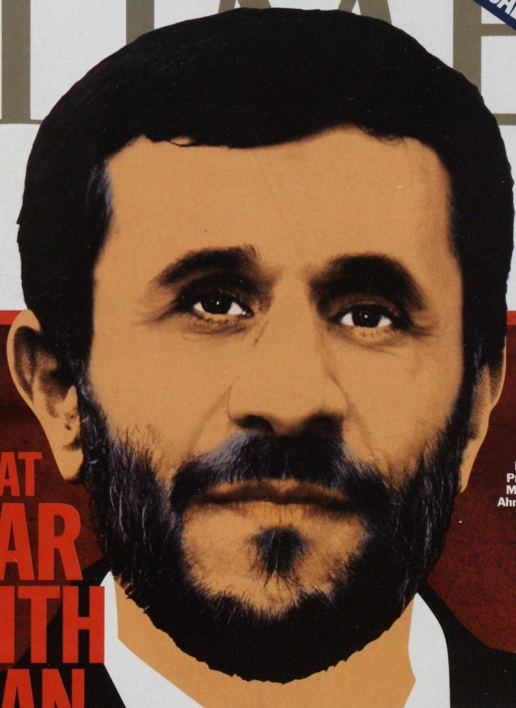
EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW
AHMADINEJAD SPEAKS

TIME

WHAT WAR WITH IRAN WOULD LOOK LIKE

(And how to avoid it)

Iranian
President
Mahmoud
Ahmadinejad

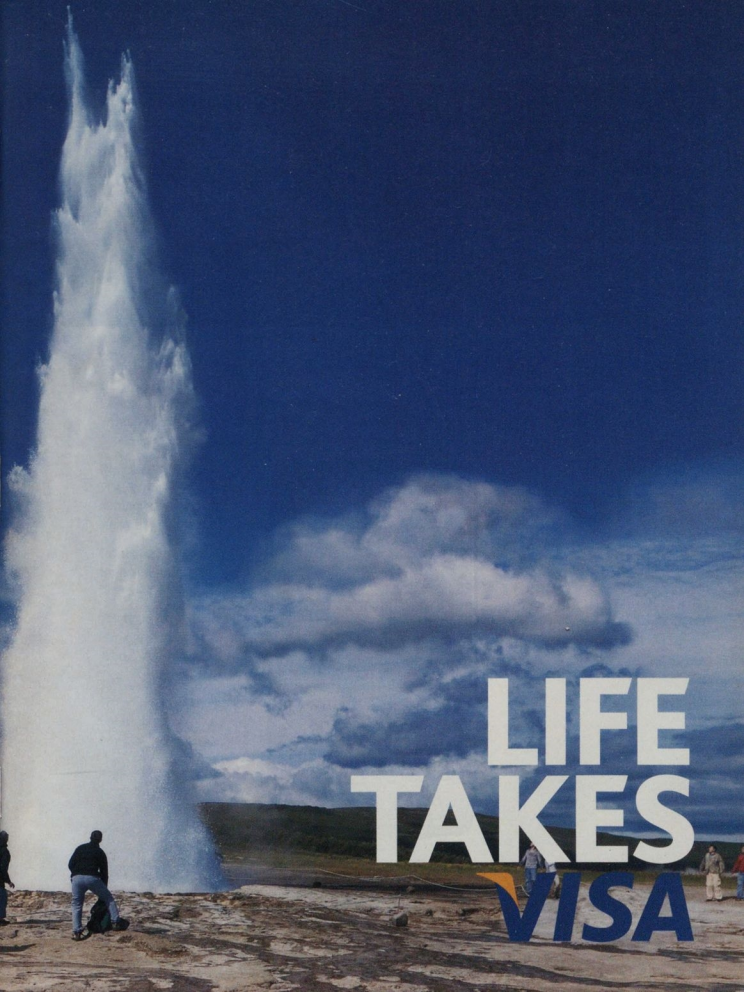


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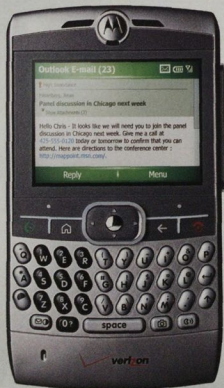


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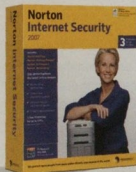


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Backdoor.Glupzy	7/21/06	7/21/06	Trojan.Emcodec.E	7/1/06	7/2/06	SymbOS.Romride.H	6/21/06	6/22/06
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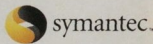
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TIME

September 25, 2006
Vol. 168, No. 13

10 QUESTIONS: The Edge on U2, New Orleans and big heads... **8**
LETTERS **14**

NOTEBOOK

Where to go if you want to live longer; a new bird discovery in India; fashion trends coming to a retail store near you... **20**
MILESTONES: Farewell to a Texas pol, a golfer and a king... **27**
IN THE ARENA: Joe Klein on a closely watched House race... **29**

WORLD

VIEWPOINT: The Pope is no diplomat, but his talk on the roles of faith and reason raised key issues about the nature of God... **44**

NATION

REBEL LEADER: Why Senator Lindsey Graham is bucking his party and his President on torture-and-terrorism legislation... **47**
TERRORISM LAW: Two versions—both from the G.O.P. **50**
HADITHA: An exclusive interview with Kilo Company's leader reveals a Marine who says he's mystified by the charges... **52**
WHITE HOUSE MEMO: Bush's aggressive body language... **56**

SCIENCE

ENVIRONMENT: Why a back-to-basics plan to revolutionize agriculture in Africa needs women and fertilizer... **59**

SOCIETY

EDUCATION: Who should pay Luke Perkins' \$135,000 tuition—the autistic boy's parents or his public school district?... **62**
LAW: Surrendering newborns—how much time to decide?... **64**

BUSINESS

MOVIES: Apple enters the growing field of film downloads... **67**

SPORT

BULL MARKET: How a bunch of ornery 1,800-lb. beasts became the newest stars of sports television... **70**

ARTS

RAP LEGACY: The determined moms of Tupac and Biggie... **72**
TELEVISION: How did NBC end up with two shows about TV? **79**
MONOPOLY: The board game retools for the Age of Starbucks... **81**
BOOKS: New from Alice McDermott and a *Jeopardy* champ... **82**
MOVIES: The best film yet on Iraq and its aftermath... **84**
WORTH YOUR TIME: Five TV dramas for nighttime viewing... **103**

YOUR TIME

Split-location jobs; health effects of coffee, tea and seaweed... **105**

PEOPLE: Whitney and Bobby's split; Spike Lee's groceries... **109**

ESSAY: Our "Chickenhead" book reviewer gets revenge... **110**

COVER: Illustration for TIME by John Ritter

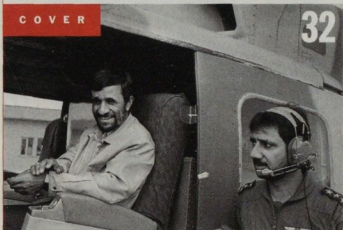
47

Senator Graham has a unique perspective as a Republican and a military lawyer



DAVID J. PHILLIP/GETTY IMAGES

COVER



ARMED AND DANGEROUS

Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad sits down with TIME for an exclusive interview about nuclear ambition, President Bush and who's the real bully. Plus, a chilling preview of what war with Iran might actually look like



Tessa was adopted after she was lawfully abandoned at a firehouse



SCOTT GANFIELD—NBC

70

► Frisky bulls are the latest stars in sport



SCOTT HAYAKAWA—UPP/LOK

► Studio 60 is one of NBC's two fall forays into TV about TV

59

► A rice seller shows off a sample in Uganda



JOHN BUCHHEIT—THE ROCKEFELLER CENTER/GETTY IMAGES

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LAUREN FLEISHMAN FOR TIME

Being 16

For a special report on a very special age, go to time.com/sixteen. Check out personal essays, an audio gallery and an inside look at a sweet 16 party.



COURTESY OF ROCKSTAR GAMES

SNEAK PREVIEW

Bully is a controversial video game in which you're a kid at a boarding school fighting back against other kids. To watch a video review by TIME's Lev Grossman, visit time.com.

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ASK THE DOCTOR

Dr. Andrew Weil explains in this week's magazine that coffee, tea and brown seaweed can be good for your brain, heart and waistline. To ask him questions about these health benefits, visit time.com/askdrweil.

JENNIFER GRAY/OK-CAP

MOST VIEWED ON TIME.COM



1. A Monarch's Dire Warning About the Middle East
2. Why Syria May Be the Real Victim of the Attack
3. Behind Pope Benedict XVI's Vatican Overhaul
4. How U2 Plans to Help New Orleans March On
5. The Pope Tackles Faith and Terrorism

BRENDAN SMALLOWS/AP PHOTO

NEW POLITICAL BLOG

In a partnership with RealClearPolitics.com, a Chicago-based website, time.com will be host to the RCP blog, offering news and analysis as well as RCP's opinion-poll averages.

ASK AFENI SHAKUR

In this week's issue, Ta-Nehisi Coates writes about the mothers of slain rap stars Notorious B.I.G. and Tupac Shakur. To submit questions to Shakur's mother, visit time.com/askshakur.



KEN NAKAGAWA

SHAKUR/REUTERS/AP



PICTURE OF THE WEEK

Last week time.com visitors looked at images chosen by TIME's photo editors and voted this shot their favorite: the meeting of a U.S. soldier of the 1st Battalion and a young boy near Camp Florida in eastern Afghanistan.



BY IGNORING INVESTMENT TRENDS, WE SEEM TO HAVE STARTED ANOTHER.



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Edward Jones
MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

10 QUESTIONS FOR The Edge

His name is Dave Evans, but everyone from roadies to relatives calls him the Edge. As U2's guitarist, he's one of the world's most famous rock stars. As co-founder of Music Rising, he has taken a lead role in getting New Orleans musicians back on their feet. TIME's Josh Tyrangiel spoke with the Edge about the beginnings of U2's next album, a couple of songs he wishes his band had written, and what it was like to be a young man with a large head.

You're speaking from a London recording studio. Does that mean there's a new U2 album around the bend? Noooo.

Nowhere near. We're here with [producer] Rick Rubin and enjoying the chemistry, but we're nowhere near a timetable or anything. I will say that we're having a good time. And I have a feeling that because of Rick's presence it's going to sound very different. But really, it's early days. And we are messing about with other stuff too.

Messing about meaning ...?

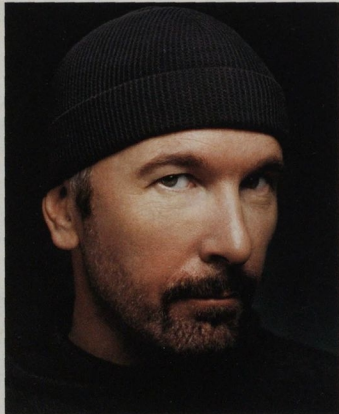
Well, right now we're recording a duet with Green Day that we'll perform on *Monday Night Football* [Sept. 25] for the re-opening of the Superdome.

When you record with another band, who plays lead guitar?

[Laughs.] That's the great thing about punk rock. It was anti the very concept of lead guitar. This song [*The Saints Are Coming* by Scottish punk act the Skids] is pure 1978, a big inspiration to us at the time, and it couldn't be more in the sweet spot of what Green Day are about. And it's really right for the occasion.

This will be your second time playing a football game, right?

The first was the Super Bowl in the Superdome, right after Sept. 11, which was obviously memorable. But a little added irony is that an hour after I got offstage that night, I got a call



from Dublin saying that the U2 [storage] space had been flooded. All our instruments and amps had been destroyed. The only ones that survived were the ones we happened to have in New Orleans.

What prompted a Welsh Irishman's interest in reviving the music culture of New Orleans? If you understand what goes into making great music, you can't help but

worship the miracle that is the combination of all those influences. It's an incredibly precious and delicate thing, and it has to be preserved.

What have you accomplished so far? Music Rising has given instruments and aid to about 2,000 musicians, but it's barely a start. New Orleans is like one giant music academy; all of those neighborhoods fostered multigenerational music

tuition. Grandfathers taught grandchildren in churches, homes, schools. People were passing on knowledge everywhere.

You don't sound terribly optimistic. It's not a great situation. Obviously we're getting money and instruments to them, but a large part of it is just to offer a little bit of encouragement and to get the rest of the country to realize that this is something we'll all regret if we let it disappear.

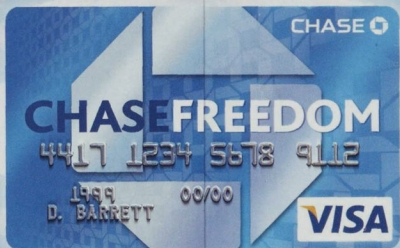
Let's get abstract for a moment.

If you could attach your name to any song written over the past few years, which would it be? Interesting. There's quite a few songs I've been jealous of. Certainly *Wonderwall* by Oasis. Oh. Easy. The New Radicals' *You Get What You Give*. That's a great tune. I really would love to have written that. Great spirit, great energy.

U2 is putting out a coffee-table book next week of old photos and first-person tales about your lives. I presume you did this because the band has been so overlooked by the media all these years? We really did need the publicity. [Laughs.] I don't know, the book idea ... it just felt right somehow. Then we got into it and realized it was actually a big commitment, going through scrapbooks and memories. But it turned out well.

One of the most revealing things in the book is that as a child you had a freakishly huge head. Was this a concern for your parents?

I wouldn't say a concern, but looking back I was like, Wow! That was a weird phase! As Bono says, the stage is like a giant platform shoe, and we all have reasons we end up in bands. For me, my awkward phase corresponded to an interest in rock 'n' roll. From experience, I'm guessing an insecure childhood is probably quite a common thing among people who start a rock band. ■



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The Dawn of the Universe

Our look back to what astronomers call the Dark Ages—the era between the Big Bang and the birth of stars—provoked awe at the ability to peer through such vast expanses of time and space. Some readers said scientists have reached beyond their data, while others found an affirmation of God's work

I'M SO GLAD THAT YOUR ASTRONOMY COVER story about the first stars (Sept. 4) dealt with what we astronomers really do rather than the mere semantic debate over whether Pluto is a planet or a dwarf planet. Michael Lemonick wonderfully conveyed the feeling of using a big telescope and showed how astronomers work together observing in different parts of the spectrum to gain a picture of that early stage of our universe.

JAY M. PASACHOFF
DIRECTOR, HOPKINS OBSERVATORY
WILLIAMS COLLEGE
Williamstown, Mass.

THE ARTICLE ON THE BIRTH OF STARS WAS a breath of fresh air at a time when too many people are busy counting planets on the head of a pin. The ongoing scientific discovery of the unfolding of our early universe is far more important for people to understand than how to divide the solar system into sheep and goats. Our connection to those early epochs is not just academic. Many of the oxygen atoms we inhale were forged in those very first stars.

JAMES SWEITZER, Ph.D.
SCIENCE COMMUNICATIONS
CONSULTANTS
Oak Park, Ill.

YOUR STORY EXPLAINED THAT EVEN though light was created at the Big Bang, there was darkness before stars formed. Likewise, the first chapter of *Genesis* states that God created light before he created the stars, and separated light from darkness in the interim. Not too many years ago, some people said the Bible's account of the beginning could not be true because light comes from stars, which could not have been created after light was. Now your article has shown how it could be true. Science has once again caught up with the Bible.

SARA BORDEN
Maple Valley, Wash.

THANKS FOR THE REMINDER THAT EARTH is but a small grain of sand on the beach when compared with the size of the



“Thanks for the reminder that Earth is but a small grain of sand on the beach when compared with the size of the known universe.”

VINCENT M. CARINI
Lyndhurst, N.J.

known universe. I don't think people give much thought to how insignificant we are in that respect. I was intrigued by the scientific community's fascinating discoveries of what happened after the Big Bang. I'm staying tuned.

VINCENT M. CARINI
Lyndhurst, N.J.

HAVING A BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF ALBERT Einstein's work with light waves, physics and quantum mechanics, I find it difficult to believe that we really can tell the distance that light has traveled when we perceive it. I don't believe in the Big Bang any more than I buy the parting of the Red Sea. The supposed noise from the Big Bang could just be noise from

everyday creation and destruction occurring in the universe. Unfortunately, a lot of science and religion has evolved into fantasies that provide grandiose explanations for questions that might never be answered.

RICHARD THOMAS
Roulett, Texas

THE EVOLUTION OF THE UNIVERSE FROM a random distribution of elementary particles into elements, compounds, stars, planets and complex life forms seems to fly in the face of the laws of physics, which call for constantly increasing entropy and disorder. There is apparently a force in the universe working toward order rather than disorder. Could we call that force intelligent design?

BRUCE HERBERT
McLean, Va.

The Toughness Test

“THE END OF INVINCIBILITY” (SEPT. 4) illustrated the difficulty of achieving peace in the Middle East. Once again a leader has failed the toughness test, and his people are ready to make him pay a political price. But Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert cannot destroy Hizballah any more than President George W. Bush can destroy all terrorists. Here in the U.S. we criticize the President for leading us into a quagmire in Iraq, but if he had not responded to the 9/11 attacks as strongly as he did, perhaps we would have reacted like Israel's army reservists did and demanded that he step down. Peace in the Middle East will come only when each side develops the ability to empathize with its leaders as well as its hated enemies.

HWUN-YEE CHEN
San Francisco

YOUR REPORT REFERRED TO A PALESTINIAN minister who took Israel to task for not recognizing Arabs as equals and for seeking military solutions instead of political ones. What political solutions did he have in mind? The Palestinians elected Hamas to lead them, and the heroes of the Lebanese are their Hizballah war-



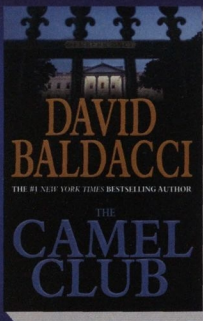
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lords. Both Hamas and Hizballah are loudly and proudly dedicated to the destruction of Israel.

STEVE DAVID
Richboro, Pa.

Ripples of Change in China

SORROW AND RAGE GREW IN EQUAL measure as I read Hannah Beech's unsettling account of the Chinese government's persecution of legal activist Chen Guangcheng (Sept. 4). Disgust threatened to turn to despair. What hope is there for individuals like Chen, outgunned and outnumbered? But then I recalled the words that novelist Lu Xun wrote 85 years ago, at the end of his short story *My Old Home*: "Hope cannot be said to exist, nor can it be said not to exist. It is just like roads across the earth. For actually the earth had no roads to begin with, but when many men pass one way, a road is made." A pebble cast in the water may seem insignificant, but it creates ripples. Some ripples become waves, and some waves become tsunamis.

PAUL LAI
Longwood, Fla.

Cruelty on a Cracker

"BANNED: FINE FOOD AND FUN" (SEPT. 4), which referred to Chicago's foie-gras ban as a "loopy law," was disturbingly glib. Foie-gras production is excruciating for geese and ducks, which are forced through a tube inserted into their throats. Those that do not prematurely die in the process of being overfed become grossly overweight, and they struggle to walk, stand up, even breathe. It is not Chicago's new law that is outrageous but the inhumane luxury it prohibits.

OWEN LUBOZYNSKI
Minneapolis, Minn.

IN MOCKING CHICAGO'S NEWLY ENACTED foie-gras ban, your writer insults not only the compassionate individuals who worked to pass this law but also the vast majority of U.S. citizens—nearly 80% of whom, according to a Zogby poll, support an end to foie-gras production. More than a dozen countries and the state of California have passed laws prohibiting this cruel practice. Far from being frivolous, Chicago's law codifies the humane values that we as a society purport to believe in.

GENE BAUSTON
PRESIDENT, FARM SANCTUARY
Watkins Glen, N.Y.

Too Much Homework?

CLAUDIA WALLIS' ESSAY "THE MYTH ABOUT Homework" (Sept. 4) cited studies that say homework makes kids hate learning. As a mother of four, I feel that homework not only dampens the flame of curiosity but is also the most aggressive foe of quality family time. Back in junior high school, I had a teacher who didn't assign homework. One day I asked him why. He said, "If I am doing the work I was hired to do, then my students shouldn't have homework." I agreed with him then, and I still do. We should be able to enjoy our children's company without the infringement of work that should be left in the classroom at the end of the school day.

MARIA O. PERRY
Elizabethton, Tenn.

I HOPE MY 10-YEAR-OLD SON DOESN'T read the article by Wallis. He'd think substituting 30 minutes of practice with 30 minutes of play would be less damaging to his interest in learning to play the piano. Of course, what he wouldn't understand is that it would also prevent him from learning to play the piano.

ROY JOHNSON
Ortonville, Mich.

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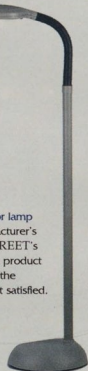
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Pure Play

IT WAS GOOD TO READ MICHELLE COTTLE'S "This Essay Will Help Your Kid Get Ahead" [Sept. 4] on the baby-genius racket. As a day-care educator, I am required to explain the educational benefits of the activities that I make available to the children. For those of you who feel better about your child's toys when they come with extravagant developmental claims on the box, here's all you will ever need to know: children learn through play. Parents should stop focusing on making their kids into overachievers and just play with them.

LINDA MERCIER
St. Bruno, Que.

Pluto Farewell

BEING A BIG FAN OF LIGHTEARTED commentary, I took great pleasure in reading Jeffrey Kluger's Essay "Get Pluto out of Here!" [Aug. 28]. It has been quite a while since something as serious as the size of our solar system brought a smile to my face. His Essay was a wonderfully simple explanation of the problem surrounding Pluto's definition as the ninth planet, as well as a warning of the dangers of overthinking that and other, less important issues.

ALBERT AUKEMA
Pretoria, South Africa

Islam in America

RE PETER SKERRY'S VIEWPOINT ON WHY most U.S. Muslims aren't jihadists [Aug. 21]: While the U.S. has a history of being a land of immigrants, Europe does not. Americans have a strong sense of patriotism and commitment to faith, attributes most Europeans gave up after World War II. The U.S. has a justice system with very clear guidelines; Europe tries to be tolerant but perhaps ends up being ignorant. The different systems attract different sorts of immigrants and influence their role in society. But the biggest problem is that Europe is trying to "explain" and "understand" Muslim terrorism, while the U.S. just fights it.

CHRIS SCHAARDEN
Amsterdam

SKERRY OVERLOOKED THE RECENT ALLEGED homegrown terrorist attacks in Toronto. Canadian Muslims are well educated, with many living in the suburbs of a country with religious freedom. The Canadian experience in Toronto has



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LIFE TAKES VISA

great relevance to the U.S., not to cause widespread panic but to be at least considered in theories about how Muslims adapt to North American communities.

MATT NELSON
Toronto

SKERRY ASSERTS THAT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES have disaffected Muslim populations because of “the U.S.’s enduring emphasis on religious liberty.” I do not believe Britain to be any less accommodating to people of faith. British people want Muslims to participate in our society. But a majority of Muslims in this country prefer to build walls instead of bridges and regard our culture with disdain.

TIM BECKERLEY
London

Can We Be Secure Enough?

YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT THE CHALLENGE OF living with the unforeseen risks of terrorist attacks [Aug. 21] made it plain that there is so much concern about what passengers cannot carry on airlines that we seem to have lost sight of the problem of cargo security. Since anything can now be secreted in a toothpaste tube, isn't there a higher risk of a small bomb's being placed in the cargo hold? A big bribe put in the hands of a baggage handler might be enough to do it.

CHADWICK HALL
London

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT KEEPS AMERICANS in a perpetual state of fear because citizens are more easily manipulated when they are in that condition. The same thing happens in Britain to a degree. As long as

there is any kind of threat, our governments are going to seize the opportunity to pass draconian measures to control the population. As long as they can convince us that the threat is severe enough, we are going to willingly give up our freedoms. What they seem to have lost sight of is that government is there to serve the people, not the other way round.

GRIMBLE GROMBLE
Melksham, England

YOU ASKED, “HOW MUCH RISK ARE WE willing to live with?” I would feel safe if Britain detached itself from U.S. foreign policy; if Palestinians were given their own state and it was supported by the West to the same degree as the state of Israel is supported; if we opened a respectful dialogue with the states of the Middle East; if we stopped supporting corrupt Arab regimes; and if Muslim leaders in Britain were making it sufficiently clear in the public forum that the taking of any human life is evil.

JIM MCCLUSKEY
Twickenham, England

Roots of Rage

TIME WROTE ABOUT ISLAMIC DISCONTENT fomenting in Britain [Aug. 21]. It is tiring to hear Muslims blaming terrorism on British and American foreign policy. That is the lamest excuse, and going off on some guilt trip, as some Westerners do, is unfortunate. As an African, my brethren and I did not find it tempting to engage in terrorism in the trying periods of apartheid, slavery, colonialism or the civil rights movement. It's time Western societies recognize an excuse when they

VINNIE, VIDI, VICI



After last year's disappointing 4-12 season, the Green Bay Packers are hoping this year's very young squad will reinvigorate the franchise. The team might take inspiration from legendary coach Vince Lombardi, profiled in TIME's Dec. 21, 1962, issue:

“The son of an immigrant Italian butcher, Lombardi started out studying for the Roman Catholic priesthood. ‘But the Greek got him,’ says his father, and then there was football. He was an all-star fullback at Brooklyn’s St. Francis Prep, went to Fordham University, where he switched to guard and quickly earned a reputation as a short-fused scrapper whose violent charge made him seem twice as big. ‘VINCE NEVER GOT ABOVE 182,’ RECALLS A FORDHAM TEAMMATE. ‘BUT WHEN HE HIT YOU, IT FELT LIKE 250’ ... When Fordham played powerhouse Pittsburgh to a 0-0 standoff in 1936, Lombardi put on a tremendous one-man show: he helped stop Pitt’s deepest drive with a key tackle at the Fordham four, and his crashing blocks punched holes in the massive Pittsburgh line. ‘We had a play on which I was supposed to trap the Pitt tackle,’ recalls Lombardi. ‘It worked fine, so our quarterback kept calling it. But every time I trapped that guy, he jabbed me right in the teeth with his elbow.’ At game’s end a surgeon took 30 stitches inside Lombardi’s mouth.” Read more at timearchive.com.

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SIZING UP THE SEXES



TIME's Sept. 4 story on teenage boys reported that, to the surprise of social scientists, boys are just as emotionally invested in their romantic relationships as girls are. But is that an

exception to the rule of gender differences? Our Jan. 20, 1992, cover story addressed the issue:

"During the feminist revolution of the 1970s, talk of inborn differences in the behavior of men and women was distinctly unfashionable, even taboo. Men dominated fields like architecture and engineering, it was argued, because of social, not hormonal, pressures. Women did the vast majority of society's child rearing because few other options were available to them. Once sexism was abolished, so the argument ran, the world would become a perfectly equitable, androgynous place, aside from a few anatomical details. But biology has a funny way of confounding expectations ... **RESEARCHERS FOUND SUBTLE NEUROLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEXES BOTH IN THE BRAIN'S STRUCTURE AND IN ITS FUNCTIONING.** In addition, another generation of parents discovered that, despite their best efforts to give baseballs to their daughters and sewing kits to their sons, girls still flocked to dollhouses while boys clambered into tree forts. Perhaps nature is more important than nurture after all." Read more at timearchive.com.

hear one, otherwise the threatening boast of the mullahs—the forced Islamization of the West—will become a reality sooner than anyone can imagine.

BOMA GOGO
Bonny Island, Nigeria

The Other Two-Wheeler

I READ WITH INTEREST YOUR RECENT report about the innovative Segway scooter [Aug. 21]. It is without a doubt an elegant invention, but I do not understand why I should spend nearly \$5,000 on something that has no advantage over a good bicycle, which is inexpensive, environmentally friendly and provides good exercise, with no battery to charge.

ALBERTO FUMAGALLI
Carugate, Italy



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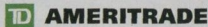
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A high-angle, close-up shot of a metal shopping cart. A blue rectangular sign with a white border is attached to the front of the cart. The sign features a white warning triangle icon at the top center. Below the icon, the text "DO NOT LEAVE TEENAGER UNATTENDED IN COUGH MEDICINE AISLE" is written in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters. The cart's handle is blue and has a white plastic grip. The background is dark and out of focus, suggesting a store aisle.

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NoteBook

LIVE HERE AND PROSPER

Geography, it seems, is destiny—at least when it comes to America's health disparities. Local differences in things like the food people eat and the health care they receive appear to be more important than income in determining how long they live, according to a new study of mortality in the U.S. Some of the news is bleak: the worst-off Americans have a life span in line with that of

people who live in Third World countries. The biggest surprise, says the report's author, Dr. Christopher Murray of the Harvard School of Public Health, is that life-span discrepancies show up most in young and middle-aged adults—not kids or the elderly, who tend to be viewed as at higher risk—and are due more to chronic ailments like heart disease and high blood pressure than to factors like homicide and HIV.

Life expectancy



MINNESOTA, IOWA, THE DAKOTAS, NEBRASKA, MONTANA

Despite lower income, rural whites in these states live longer (79 years) than wealthier whites in Middle America (77.9 years)

CITIES A 15-year-old urban black male is 3.8 times as likely to die before the age of 60 as an Asian American

COLORADO Clear Creek, Eagle, Gilpin, Grand, Jackson, Park and Summit are ranked as the top counties in the nation for longevity (81.3 years on average)

SOUTH DAKOTA Native American men residing here fare the worst, on average living only to age 58

MISSISSIPPI RIVER Life expectancy for counties immediately east and west of the Mississippi River is 76.6 and 77.2, respectively

APPALACHIA AND THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY Low-income whites here die on average four years sooner than their neighbors in the rural Northern Plains



LEAKS, LIES AND THE CIA SPY

The outing of CIA operative Valerie Wilson (né Plame) consumed Washington for three years. The case received a radical reconfiguring when former State Department bigwig Richard Armitage confirmed that he was the original source for columnist Robert Novak's revelation. Novak weighed in last week, calling Armitage's contrition bogus and the leak deliberate. In the D.C. bureau of Fox News, anchor Brit Hume goaded Plamegate chronicler David Corn into an off-camera shouting spree. "Both leaked classified information, Brit!" Corn raged. "Go ahead and laugh!" Here, *TIME* re-evaluates some major players.

CAST OF CHARACTERS	WHAT YOU THOUGHT YOU KNEW	WHAT SEEMS TO BE TRUE NOW	FUTURE EMPLOYMENT POSSIBILITIES
 Richard Armitage	Press-friendly best bud of Colin Powell was thought to oppose the war without saying so publicly.	Source of leak to discredit Joe Wilson, who tried to discredit Bush case for war. A bit discredited now himself.	Cabinet post in a McCain Administration; failing that, he can always write his tell-all memoirs.
 Robert Novak	Conservative pundit known as the Prince of Darkness; assumed (wrongly) by liberals to be Bush lackey.	Always a war skeptic; complained that Armitage treated him "with disdain" in years before the leak.	Will write must-read (in Washington) columns until they pry his keyboard from his cold, dead hands.
 "Scooter" Libby	Cheney's Cheney; sly neocon breakfast confidant of reporter Judy Miller; the only one indicted in the affair.	Charged with lying about his chat with Tim Russert; turns out the cliché is true—it really is the cover-up!	If he's convicted, prison could provide material for <i>The Inmate</i> , a sequel to first novel, <i>The Apprentice</i> .
 David Corn	Actually, you don't know him; he writes for lefty mag the <i>Nation</i> ; co-wrote the book that outed Armitage.	Despite his scoop, he—with other liberals—still sees scandal in Bush aides' efforts to tarnish Wilson.	Could write next Clooney screenplay or take unpaid post at Air America; Fox & Friends unlikely to call.



"Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new, and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached."

POPE BENEDICT XVI, quoting the 14th century Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Paleologus during a lecture in Germany

"The Holy Father is very sorry that some passages of his speech may have sounded offensive to the sensibilities of Muslim believers."

VATICAN SECRETARY OF STATE TARCISIO BERTONE, reading a statement of apology after the Pope's remarks sparked a worldwide furor

"The world is beginning to doubt the moral basis of our fight against terrorism."

FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL, in a letter to Senator John McCain opposing a White House proposal that would allow harsher treatment of terrorist suspects

"We have made a new beginning."

RABBI WALTER JACOB, who last week ordained three rabbis in Germany—the first to be ordained in that country since the Holocaust

"We want them to know that violence is not sexy."

JENNIFER BAYER, girlfriend of a gang member in crime-ridden Pereira, Colombia, where wives and girlfriends of gang members are giving up sex in what they call the "strike of crossed legs" until their husbands and boyfriends give up their guns

For more quotes of the week, visit time.com/quotes

Sources: AP; BBC; New York Times (2); BBC

● Ney to Plead Guilty

Congressman faces prison
G.O.P. Representative Bob Ney, accused of taking bribes and lying to Congress, is expected to be the first lawmaker to admit guilt in the Jack Abramoff lobbying scandal when he appears in court Oct. 13.

● Cycling Scandals

New doping investigation begins
As Floyd Landis seeks dismissal of his case, the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency is looking into another cyclist—Tyler Hamilton, right, whose two-year ban on a doping charge ends this week.



● Getting to Harvard

Will the admissions change stick?
Harvard may call off its decision to end early admissions next fall—a move aimed at helping poor and minority students—if the quality of applicants drops or other colleges fail to follow suit.

WHO WEARS THIS STUFF?

ON NEW YORK CITY RUNWAYS LAST WEEK, DESIGNERS SHOWED off their hippest new fashions, from tight miniskirts to billowing pantaloons, like the ones, left, from Marc Jacobs. It's just a matter of time before these looks trickle down to the early adopters, then to the mass market. Here's a play-by-play of how fashion happens, focusing on the leggings craze that was so hot last year (before those pantaloons). —By Kate Betts



BACK TO BAGGY
Just when you thought leggings were safe, here come Marc Jacobs pantaloons



LONDON CALLING

◀ The leggings look resurfaced last fall when people like Kate Moss were spotted wearing them in London.



RUNWAY PROJECT

◀ New York trendsetters like designer Derek Lam borrowed the look and kicked it up a notch with an edgy '80s homage.



COME AND GET 'EM

▶ By late August, Gap was featuring leggings under distressed denim miniskirts in its splashy fall ad campaign.

STAR TREATMENT

▶ Leggings moved further along the fashion food chain when celebs like Jessica Alba made the look their own.



THE
ANA
LOG

Reporting from her Washington base camp, **ANA MARIE COX** dishes the dirt on D.C.

AND THIS CHAIR IS JUST RIGHT Former Republican National Committee chairman Ed Gillespie kicks off a p.r. tour in support of his not-especially-tell-all memoir, *Winning Right*. The launch-party guest list includes **Terry McAuliffe**, former Democratic National Committee chairman—whose own book, *What a Party*, is due to be released in January. That book's tell-all proportions are unknown, but attendees overhear McAuliffe boasting that his book is "much thicker."

PROVING THE EXISTENCE OF THE MISSING LINK **Lincoln Chafee**, the pro-choice, antiwar, handgun-hating Senator, wins his Rhode Island Senate primary, proving that the G.O.P. will do anything to keep its majority—even elect a Democrat.

WHAT KIND OF A RACE IS THIS? Embattled Virginia Senator **George** ("Some of My Best Friends Are Macacas") **Allen**, who is up for reelection in November, does himself no favors in combating allegations of racism by holding—and we quote—an "ethnic rally." At least he doesn't wear his Confederate-flag pin. When is he going to get his own *Survivor* team and be done with it?

NICE OF POTUS TO NOTICE **President Bush** interrupts his Rose Garden press conference to bestow an unexpected compliment, telling NBC's **David Gregory** (who recently tussled with a microphone cord), "I must say, having gone through those gyrations, you're looking beautiful today, Dave." Oh, Mr. President, you big flirt.

NEW BIRD ON THE BLOCK

It's not often that a new bird is discovered—worldwide, it happens maybe once a year. Bugun Liocichla, a breed of babbar that scientist types will come to know as *Liocichla bugunorum*, last week officially became the first bird discovered in India in more than a half-century. Ramana Athreya, a professional astronomer and amateur ornithologist in the northeastern part of the country, captured two of the birds—which take their name from the local Bugun tribe—in May, but the find had to be vetted by the scientific community before it became official. Since the species is so rare, Athreya did not want to take the usual tack: killing a specimen, stuffing it, then shipping it off to a museum. Instead, he took feathers and pictures and recorded the birds' song before releasing them, so that scientists could verify his claim. For Athreya, it was a triumph. He first saw the species in 1995 but didn't spot it again until last year. "I began to doubt what I had seen," says Athreya. Now the whole world sees it. —By Carolyn Sayre



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PUNCHLINES



“Several Democratic and Republican primaries were just held all across the country. It was evenly split between those who forgot to vote and those who chose not to vote.” CONAN O'BRIEN

“It's Fashion Week here in New York City. I was walking through Central Park today on my lunch hour, and I saw an old lady tossing bread crumbs to the supermodels.”

DAVID LETTERMAN



“The Senate Intelligence Committee has released a report saying there's no evidence that Saddam Hussein had a relationship with al-Qaeda. Thank God we found that out now before we did something crazy.” JAY LENO

For more political humor, visit time.com/cartoons

NUMBERS

\$12 million Amount the Democratic National Committee said it plans to spend on the mid-term elections in November

\$60 million Amount the Republican National Committee has said it will spend

92% Percentage of Americans who say they believe in God or some other higher power

75% Percentage who believe their family will get into heaven

19% Percentage who believe that God favors the U.S. in world affairs



\$372 million Cost of the solar array that NASA astronauts installed on the International Space Station last week during a 6½-hr. spacewalk

1,631 Number of commands that ground controllers issued during the extremely complex installation (controllers normally issue only about 200)

45,000 Number of U.S. jobs Ford Motor Co. is cutting—29% of its North American workforce—by 2008 as part of a plan to slash \$5 billion in costs

34,410 Number of American jobs General Motors eliminated earlier this year to cut its costs

\$27,646 Average salary of working men in the U.S. who drink alcohol, 10% higher than that of those who don't drink, according to a new study

\$14,304 Average salary of working women in the U.S. who drink, 14% higher than that of abstainers

Sources: The Hill (2); Baylor University (3); New York Times (2); Reuters; AP; Reason Foundation (2)



Fewer asthma symptoms. Better breathing*. I like that tune.

ADVAIR treats the two main causes of my asthma symptoms—airway constriction and inflammation. That's why it helps me breathe better. My doctor put me on ADVAIR because I was still having symptoms even though I was taking a controller medicine. Talk to your doctor and find out if ADVAIR is right for you.



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(fluticasone propionate 100 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)



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Important information about ADVAIR. Prescription ADVAIR won't replace fast-acting inhalers for sudden symptoms and should not be taken more than twice a day. ADVAIR contains salmeterol. In patients with asthma, medicines like salmeterol may increase the chance of asthma-related death. So ADVAIR is not for people whose asthma is well controlled on another controller medicine. Talk to your doctor about the risks and benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR. If you are taking ADVAIR, see your doctor if your asthma does not improve. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or changes in heart rhythm. ADVAIR is for patients 4 years and older. For patients 4 to 11 years old, ADVAIR 100/50 is for those who have asthma symptoms while on an inhaled corticosteroid.

*People ages 12 years and older taking ADVAIR 100/50 experienced improved lung function and asthma symptom scores, and a reduction in fast-acting inhaler use, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 100 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg (inhalation powders) alone.

Please see important information about ADVAIR on the next page.

Results may vary.

ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50, 250/50, 500/50

(fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta₂-agonist medicines such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you for sudden breathing difficulty. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR: Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta₂-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

For Asthma

- ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAIR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: itching; breathing problems; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or welts on the skin.

Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row or a whole container of your fast-acting inhaler "weeks" later), it is a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day), your doctor may tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, conjunctivitis, eczema, arthritis, and eosinophilic conditions. Symptoms of an eosinophilic condition can include rash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure, ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

When using ADVAIR, remember:

- Never breathe into or take the DISKUS[®] apart.
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
- After each inhalation, rise your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
- Discard 1 month after removal from the foil overwrap.
- Do not use ADVAIR with a nebulizer device.

Children should use ADVAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

Can I take ADVAIR DISKUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you use, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

If you are taking ADVAIR, you should not take SEREVENT[®] DISKUS or Foradil[®] Aerolizer[®] for any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Novir[®] Soft Gelatin Capsules, Novir Oral Solution, and Kaletra[®] contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying amounts of albuterol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day of albuterol has not been studied.

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or bivalent antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketoconazole (an antifungal medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater steroid side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta₂-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methylxanthines (e.g., theophylline) or with FLONASE[®].

What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

Osteoporosis: Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (because of use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAIR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

Glaucoma and cataracts: Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

Lower respiratory tract infection: Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR.

Blood sugar: Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAIR.

Growth: Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

Steroids: Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of severe stress to your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids (but it is more common with oral steroids), especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

Yeast infections: Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by their doctor.

Tuberculosis or other untreated infections: ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR included:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Respiratory infections | • Bronchitis | • Musculoskeletal pain |
| • Throat irritation | • Cough | • Dizziness |
| • Hoarseness | • Headaches | • Fever |
| • Sinus infections and vomiting | • Nasal irritation | • Ear, nose, and throat infections |
| • Yeast infection of the mouth | • Diarrhea | • Nosebleed |

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the risks and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility at rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

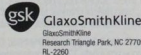
What other important tests were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

For more information on ADVAIR DISKUS

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit www.ADVAIR.com or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

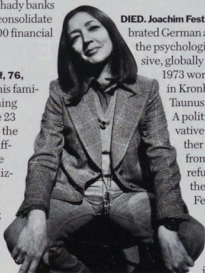
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Milestones

KILLED. Andrei Kozlov, 41, who as the first deputy chief of Russia's central bank worked to reform the country's fast-expanding, long-corrupt financial sector—along the way angering “pocket banks” largely controlled by oligarchs; after two gunmen shot him as he left a soccer arena in Moscow. In an effort to make the chaotic industry safer for credit-seeking consumers, Kozlov cracked down on money laundering, closed shady banks and lobbied to consolidate the nation's 1,200 financial institutions.

DIED. William Ziff, 76, who took over his family's tiny publishing company at age 23 and built it into the \$700 million Ziff-Davis magazine empire, specializing in hit niche periodicals like *Car and Driver*, *Flying, Yachting and PC Magazine*; in Pawling, N.Y.



DIED. Joachim Fest, 79, celebrated German author of the psychologically incisive, globally acclaimed 1973 work *Hitler*; in Kronberg-im-Taunus, Germany. A political conservative whose father was fired from his job for refusing to join the Nazi Party, Fest shed light on the Third Reich by examining its lead-

ership in dispassionate, vivid detail. He attributed Hitler's rise not primarily to economics, as many German historians have, but to the abdication of moral responsibility by educated Germans.

DIED. Patty Berg, 88, charismatic, pioneering women's golf champion whose record of 15 major titles still stands; in Fort Myers, Fla. Eager to run the women's game more efficiently, in 1950 she jump-started the formation of the Ladies Professional Golf Association and tirelessly promoted the 13-member group as its first president. At her induction into the Hall of Fame in 1951, Berg—who as a girl played quarterback on a local team with friend (and soon-to-be-legendary University of Oklahoma coach) Bud Wilkinson—joked, “I’m very happy I gave up football.”

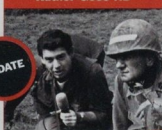


BY VAN HAZANT—EPA

DIED. Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, 88, King of Tonga, a group of 169 Polynesian islands, for 41 years; of heart disease; in Auckland, New Zealand. A mostly benign ruler of the only remaining monarchy in the South Pacific, he opposed political reforms and restricted the press but also introduced Tonga's first dictionary, newspaper and television station. He is succeeded by his British-educated businessman son, Crown Prince Tupouto.

DIED. Hilda Bernstein, 91, white, middle-class illustrator turned antiapartheid activist and founding member of the influential, multiracial Federation of South African Women; in Cape Town, South Africa. Bernstein and her husband Rusty, who was tried for treason alongside friend Nelson Mandela and acquitted, fled in 1964 amid harassment by police, settling in Britain. Only after Mandela had served as the first democratically elected President did the widowed activist return to South Africa. “The meaning of life,” she said, “is a choice you make about the way you live.”

Rather Goes HD



UPDATE

Rather in Vietnam for CBS in 1966, speaking with a soldier

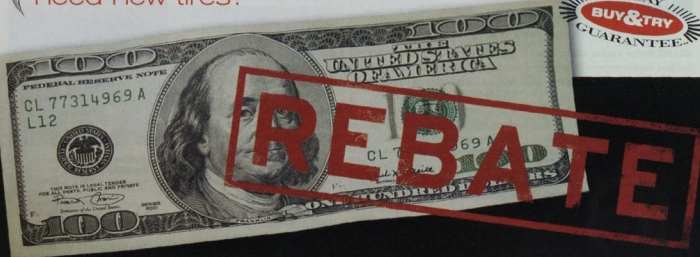
DAN RATHER may have been replaced at CBS *Evening News* by Katie Couric, but he hasn't signed off. Next month the veteran journalist will again take an anchor seat, as host of the weekly news program *Dan Rather Reports* on HDNet, a high-definition TV network that airs in 3 million homes. The one-hour show will draw heavily from the Rather repertoire: field reports, investigative stories, interviews. “I want Dan Rather to be Dan Rather,” says Mark Cuban, sports mogul and chairman of HDNet. To that end, he named Rather the show's producer and gave him full editorial control. For Rather, that means he can pursue stories without worrying about what the suits upstairs think. “Free people in a democratic system need hard news,” says Rather, who plans to roam the country in pursuit of serious stories and heavy-hitting interviews. “I am an all-day runner and a long-distance hunter.” The Ratherisms too are back.

—By Carolyn Sayre

I've known every First Lady going back to Eleanor Roosevelt. But forget them and Mother Teresa too. I think **Ann Richards**, who died of cancer last week at age 73, was the greatest woman I have ever known. The former Governor of Texas was electrifying, brilliant, loyal, tolerant. She was also exhausting. I am surprised Ann stopped long enough to leave this world. She loved telling stories. One of her favorites was about taking her darling grandchild Lily to see the Queen of England. Later Ann asked Lily what she remembered. “The Queen had lipstick on her teeth!” said Lily. I heard Ann tell this anecdote to masters of the universe, and they'd fall out of their chairs and start writing checks for charity. Ann, you were always the most alive person in the universe. To me, you always will be. —By Liz Smith



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† Replacement at no charge (including taxes and disposal fees) if your Bridgestone tire becomes unusable for any reason within the manufacturer's control for up to 3 years from date of purchase (good at purchase date required) or 4 years from date of manufacture, whichever is to the owner's advantage. Does not apply to tires supplied as original equipment on new vehicles. Certain limitations and restrictions apply. All warranties are limited to original purchase on originally installed vehicle. See each warranty at your authorized Bridgestone retailer for details and restrictions.

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Joe Klein

The Admiral Vs. the Firefighter

THE MILITARY IS THE INSTITUTION IN OUR SOCIETY THAT BEST reflects the values of the Democratic Party," says retired Vice Admiral Joe Sestak, the Democratic candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania's Seventh District. This is a wonderful, underutilized political technique, the "Huh? Tell me more!" statement. And the small gathering of neighbors in Barbara and Charles Blum's Hershey's Mill living room is all ears. Sestak explains that the military provides universal health-care coverage and substantial educational benefits—"I was able to get a Ph.D. from Harvard," he says—and it has also

been a pioneer in providing equal opportunity for all, including women and minorities. "Every military officer is a Democrat because he or she believes in investing in people," he concludes with a flourish.

As he speaks, Sestak is serving as a jungle gym for his daughter Alexandra, 5, who is climbing all over him. And now Sestak starts telling a story about when Alex was in the hospital because she "had a little tree growing." Alex looks up at her father and interrupts: "Dad, it was a tumor." It was, in fact, a malignant brain tumor. After surgery and months of chemotherapy, the cancer is in remission.

In the rush to define the 2006 campaign as a national political event that will send a crucial message—thumbs up or down on George W. Bush—it is easy to forget that there are 435 separate House races and 33 Senate contests, and they involve some very complicated human beings. There is a national component to the congressional campaign in Philadelphia's southern and western suburbs, of course, but it is dwarfed by the human drama. Sestak is a local boy made good, a graduate of Cardinal O'Hara High School in Springfield, Pa., who attended Annapolis and then spent 31 years in the Navy, including command of the U.S. naval battle group in the Persian Gulf during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2003. His opponent, the Republican incumbent Curt Weldon, is also a local boy made good, a classic Reagan Republican. He's a working-class kid, former volunteer fire chief and local pol who has built a reputation as the firefighters' best friend in Congress, who proudly announces that he has "been to every major American disaster in the last 20 years." Weldon wears dungarees and pitches in when he visits disaster sites, digging through the rubble of the World Trade Center and helping rescue the victims of Hurricane Katrina. He is an expert on Russia and Eastern Europe and stands next in line to become chair of the House Armed Services Committee.

"Curt can be absolutely brilliant," says a House colleague. "But there's also a slightly uninged quality to him." Weldon recently insisted, along with Pennsylvania's U.S. Senator Rick Santorum, that there were still weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. He also claimed

that a secret Pentagon unit called Able Danger had identified Mohamed Atta at the center of the 9/11 terrorist conspiracy a year before the attacks, a claim that has been dismissed by both the White House and the 9/11 commission. Weldon has been associated with some questionable lobbying schemes: both his daughter Karen and his real estate agent, a longtime friend named Cecelia Grimes, have set up lobbying firms representing defense contractors and East European companies that have received Weldon's support for their products.

Sestak is 54 and looks younger; Weldon is 59 and seems older. There is a last-hurrah quality to his campaign: Weldon has held the congressional seat for 20 years and has never had a tough race, but the district has trended blue in the latest presidential elections; John Kerry beat George W. Bush 51% to 48% here in 2004. As he traveled from event to event on a recent Sunday, Weldon seemed nervous and slightly desperate. His most persistent line of attack against Sestak was quite silly: that the admiral is a carpetbagger. "He still lives in Washington," Weldon told me. "He drives around the district in a car with Virginia

plates. He gets the names of towns wrong when he visits them." Last April, Weldon seemed to go off the deep end when he attacked Sestak for having his daughter's cancer treated in Washington and not in Philadelphia or Delaware. "He's like an out-of-shape boxer," says one of Weldon's friends. "His timing is off. I know he deeply regrets that comment about Sestak's daughter." But Weldon is not the sort to make public concessions.

Sestak is a surprising candidate in many ways. He is a passionate speaker—not your usual stoic military man—who can wax overly melodramatic at times. His Navy friends describe him as

brilliant but impossibly demanding. He has a sophisticated grasp of national-security issues, which makes his closely argued support for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq by the end of 2007 quite compelling. But Sestak spends more time on the stump talking about domestic affairs than foreign policy. Asked about health insurance at a house party in Middletown, he said he was very interested in the universal plan recently passed in Massachusetts. "If everybody's covered, you'll find fewer people going to sick bay." He stopped, trying to renege into civilian lingo. "You don't call it sick bay, it's..." The crowd shouted in unison, "The emergency room!" He began to laugh and said, "Well, it's been 31 years." ■



A veteran, Democrat Sestak is seeking a House seat in Pennsylvania



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TIME

A Date With a Dangerous Mind

EXCLUSIVE:

Face to face with Iran's Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the man whose swagger is stirring fears of war with the U.S.

By Scott MacLeod/Havana

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD ISN'T ONE for ceremony. We are waiting in a villa outside Havana when Ahmadinejad strides in without notice, taking even his aides by surprise. He is wearing blue-gray trousers, black loafers and the trademark tan jacket that even he calls his "Ahmadinejad jacket." He mutters something to himself as he settles into an aging leather chair with bad springs. For a moment, he seems irked by the chair, perhaps because it makes him seem even smaller than his 5 ft. 4 in., but soon he's smiling, prodding, leaning forward to make his points. "We are living our own lives," he says, when asked about his differences with the Bush Administration. He jabs the back of my hand for emphasis. "The U.S. government should not interfere in our affairs. They should live their own lives."

When he made his first trip to the U.S. last year for a meeting of the U.N. General Assembly, Ah-

madinejad was still a curiosity—a diminutive, plainly dressed man who had come out of nowhere to win Iran's presidential election. But in New York City this week, he won't have trouble being recognized. His incendiary statements—he has declared the Holocaust a "myth," has said Israel should be "wiped away" and has called the Jewish state "a stain of disgrace"—have made him the most polarizing head of state in the Muslim world. Under Ahmadinejad, Iran has built up its influence in Lebanon and Iraq and made clear its intention to become the dominant power in the oil-rich Persian Gulf. He has also accelerated work on Iran's civilian nuclear program, which the U.S. believes is geared toward producing a nuclear bomb. Though pictures of the Iranian President often show him flashing a peace sign, his actions could well be leading the world closer to war.

For all his bluster, Ahmadinejad remains an enigma. His powers are limited by Iran's political structure, in which ultimate authority over matters of state rests with the country's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The regime has threatened to retaliate against American interests "in every part of the world" if the U.S. were ever to launch a military strike against Iran. But Ahmadinejad has also made rhetorical gestures of conciliation, sending an open letter to George W. Bush and inviting the U.S. President to a televised discussion about "the ways of solving the problems of the international community." (Bush ruled it out last week. "I'm not going to meet with him," he said at a White House news conference.)

Ahmadinejad is a skilled, if slippery, debater. In his press conferences, he has shown himself to be a

POWER BROKER

Ahmadinejad, in his trademark jacket during an interview last week, aims to make Iran the dominant player in the Middle East



natural politician, gifted in the art of spin and misdirection. Our meeting took place last Saturday in a villa on the outskirts of Havana, where he was attending the confab for leaders of nonaligned nations, a gathering that included other irritants to the West such as Venezuela's Hugo Chávez and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.

Over the course of the 45-minute interview, he was serious, smiling and cocky—evidence of a self-assurance that borders on arrogance. His brown eyes locked onto mine when he made a point about Iran's nuclear program. His rhetoric was measured, but he was adamant on the issues that have made him so controversial. He dismissed U.N. demands that Iran suspend its uranium-enrichment program but said, "We are opposed to the development of nuclear weapons. We think it is of no use and that it is against the interests of nations." He waved a hand dismissively when I couldn't grasp his logic in questioning the Holocaust. Asked to defend his claim that the Holocaust was a myth, he went on a rambling rant, claiming that those who try to do "independent research" on the Holocaust have been imprisoned. "About historical events," he says, "there are different views."

He was more generous and accommodating when it came to discussing the U.S., saying his May letter to Bush was a genuine effort to reach out. He spoke highly of Americans, based on his trip to New York. "My general impression is that the people of the United States are good people... The people of the United States are also seeking peace, love, friendship and justice."

Whether such talk will be enough to save the two nations from a confrontation remains to be seen. Nor is it clear that Ahmadinejad's own job is secure. Impatience with his failure to fix Iran's economy is growing, and there is some speculation that the Old Guard may try to push him out. But until then, he seems likely to keep challenging the West, stirring things up. He aspires to unite Muslim opinion and make Iran the dominant player in the Middle East, restoring the country to its ancient imperial glory.

Ahmadinejad's handlers said our interview would last only 30 minutes, but he let it go on despite their protests. At last we were passed a note: "The time is over and Mr. President has an important meeting with the Cuban President. Goodbye." Ahmadinejad bolted from the room, swapped his jacket for a suit coat and climbed into a Mercedes. As the car pulled away, he sat in the back with an aide, smiled one more time and threw us a final wave. ■

"WE DO NOT NEED ATTACKS"

On the eve of a visit to the U.S., Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad speaks to TIME's Scott MacLeod about debating President Bush, pursuing nuclear energy and denying the Holocaust

TIME: What were your impressions of New York during your visit to the U.S. last year?

AHMADINEJAD: Unfortunately we didn't have any contact with the people of the United States. We were not in touch with the people. But my general impression is that the people of the United States are good people. Everywhere in the world, people are good.

TIME: Did you visit the site of the World Trade Center?

AHMADINEJAD: It was not necessary. It was widely covered in the media.

TIME: You recently invited President Bush to a televised debate. If he were sitting where I am sitting, what would you say, man to man?

AHMADINEJAD: The issues which are of interest to us are the international issues and how to manage them. I gave some recommendations to President Bush in my personal letter, and I hope that he will take note of them. I would ask him, Are rationalism, spirituality and humanitarianism and logic—are they bad things for human beings? Why more conflict? Why should we go for hostilities? Why should we develop weapons of mass destruction? Everybody can love one another.

TIME: Do you feel any connection with President Bush, since he is also a religious man, a strong Christian?

AHMADINEJAD: I've heard about that. But there are many things which take place and are inconsistent with the teachings of Jesus Christ in this world.

TIME: Why do your supporters chant "Death to America"?

AHMADINEJAD: When they chanted that slogan, it means they hate aggression, and they hate bullying tactics, and they hate violations of the rights of nations and discrimination. I recommended to President Bush that he can change his behavior, then everything will change.

TIME: How do you think the American people

feel when they hear Iranians shouting "Death to America" and the President of Iran does not criticize this?

AHMADINEJAD: The nations do not have any problems. What is the role of the American people in what is happening in the world? The people of the United States are also seeking peace, love, friendship and justice.

TIME: But if Americans shouted "Death to Iran," Iranians would feel insulted.

AHMADINEJAD: If the government of Iran acted in such a way, then [the American people] have this right.

TIME: Are America and Iran fated to be in conflict?

AHMADINEJAD: No, this is not fate. And this



can come to an end. I have said we can run the world through logic. We are living our own lives. The U.S. government should not interfere in our affairs. They should live their own lives. They should serve the interests of the U.S. people. They should not interfere in our affairs. Then there would be no problems with that.

TIME: Are you ready to open direct negotiations with the U.S.?

AHMADINEJAD: We have given them a letter, a lengthy letter. We say the U.S. Administration should change its behavior, and then everything will be solved. It was the U.S. which broke up relations with us. We didn't take that position. And then they should make up for it.

TIME: Does Iran have the right to nuclear weapons?

AHMADINEJAD: We are opposed to nuclear weapons. We think it has been developed just to kill human beings. It is not in the service of human beings. For that reason, last year in my address to the U.N. General Assembly, I suggested that a committee should be set up in order to disarm all the countries that possess nuclear weapons.

TIME: But you were attacked with weapons of mass destruction by Iraq. You say the U.S. threatens you, and you are surrounded by countries that have nuclear weapons.

AHMADINEJAD: Today nuclear weapons are a blunt instrument. We don't have any problems with Pakistan or India. Actually they

are friends of Iran, and throughout history they have been friends. The Zionist regime is not capable of using nuclear weapons. Problems cannot be solved through bombs. Bombs are of little use today. We need logic.

TIME: Why won't you agree to suspend enrichment of uranium as a confidence-building measure?

AHMADINEJAD: Whose confidence should be built?

TIME: The world's?

AHMADINEJAD: The world? The world? Who is the world? The United States? The U.S. Administration is not the entire world. Europe does not account for one-twentieth of the entire world. When I studied the provisions of the NPT [Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty], nowhere did I see it written that in order to produce nuclear fuel, we need to win the

“Today nuclear weapons are a blunt instrument. Problems cannot be solved through bombs. [They] are of little use. We need logic.”

support or the confidence of the United States and some European countries.

TIME: How far will Iran go in defying Western demands? Will you wait until you are attacked and your nuclear installations are destroyed?

AHMADINEJAD: Do you think the U.S. Administration would be so irrational?

TIME: You tell me.

AHMADINEJAD: I hope that is not the case. I said that we need logic. We do not need attacks.

TIME: Are you worried about an attack?

AHMADINEJAD: No.

TIME: You have been quoted as saying Israel should be wiped off the map. Was that merely rhetoric, or do you mean it?

AHMADINEJAD: People in the world are free to think the way they wish. We do not insist they should change their views. Our position toward the Palestinian question is clear: we say that a nation has been displaced from its own land. Palestinian people are killed in their own lands, by those who are not original inhabitants, and they have come from far areas of the world and have occupied those homes. Our suggestion is that the 5 million Palestinian refugees come back to their homes, and then the entire people on those lands hold a referendum and choose their own system of government. This is a democratic and popular way. Do you have any other suggestions?

TIME: Do you believe the Jewish people have a right to their own state?

AHMADINEJAD: We do not oppose it. In any country in which the people are ready to vote for the Jews to come to power, it is up to them. In our country, the Jews are living and they are represented in our Parliament. But Zionists are different from Jews.

TIME: Have you considered that Iranian Jews are hurt by your comments denying that 6 million Jews were killed in the Holocaust?

AHMADINEJAD: As to the Holocaust, I just raised a few questions. And I didn't receive any answers to my questions. I said that during World War II, around 60 million were killed. All were human beings and had their own dignities. Why only 6 million? And if it had happened, then it is a historical event. Then why do they not allow independent research?

TIME: But massive research has been done.

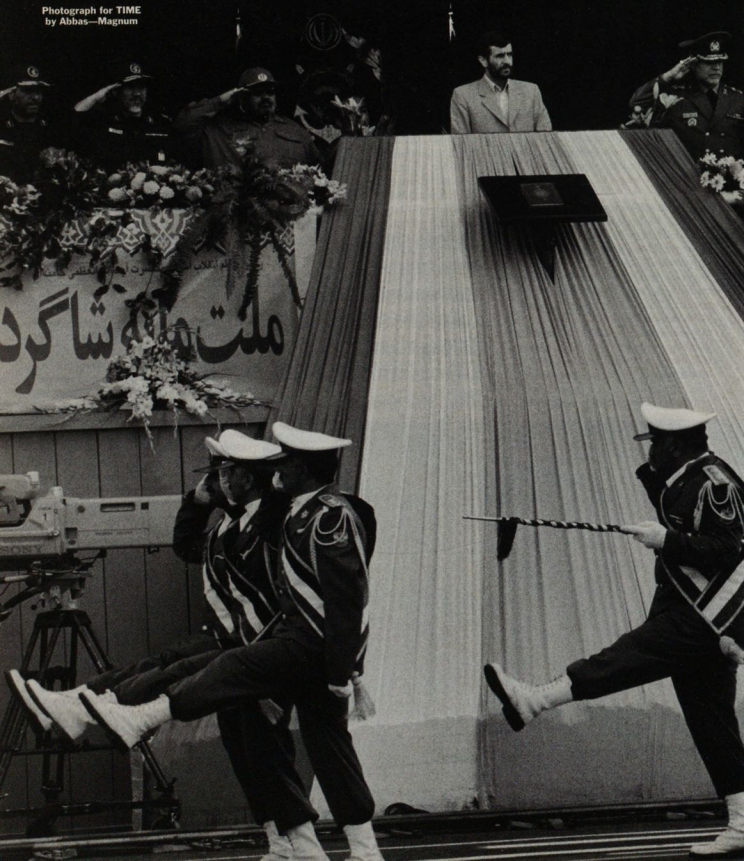
AHMADINEJAD: They put in prison those who try to do research. About historical events everybody should be free to conduct research. Let's assume that it has taken place. Where did it take place? So what is the fault of the Palestinian people? These questions are quite clear. We are waiting for answers.



FAITH AND POWER

Standing behind a copy of the Koran, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad observes a military procession in Tehran last April

Photograph for TIME
by Abbas—Magnum



“It’s not a question of whether or not a strike could be effective. It certainly would be. But are you prepared for all that follows?”

RETIRED MARINE GENERAL ANTHONY ZINNI, on the prospect of U.S. military action against Iran



What Would War Look Like?

A flurry of military maneuvers in the Middle East increases speculation that conflict with Iran is no longer quite so unthinkable. Here's how the U.S. would fight such a war—and the huge price it would have to pay to win it

By Michael Duffy

THE FIRST MESSAGE WAS ROUTINE ENOUGH: a "Prepare to Deploy" order sent through naval communications channels to a submarine, an Aegis-class cruiser, two minesweepers and two mine hunters. The orders didn't actually command the ships out of port; they just said to be ready to move by Oct. 1. But inside the Navy those messages generated more buzz than usual last week when a second request, from the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), asked for fresh eyes on long-standing U.S. plans to blockade two Iranian oil ports on the Persian Gulf. The CNO had asked for a rundown on how a blockade of those strategic targets might work. When he didn't like the analysis he received, he ordered his troops to work the lash up once again.

What's going on? The two orders offered tantalizing clues. There are only a few places in the world where minesweepers top the list of U.S. naval requirements. And every sailor, petroleum engineer and hedge-fund manager knows the name of the most important: the Strait of Hormuz, the 20-mile-wide bottleneck in the Persian Gulf through which roughly 40% of the world's oil needs to pass each day. Coupled with the CNO's request for a blockade review, a deployment of minesweepers to the west



coast of Iran would seem to suggest that a much discussed—but until now largely theoretical—prospect has become real: that the U.S. may be preparing for war with Iran.

No one knows whether—let alone when—a military confrontation with Tehran will come to pass. The fact that admirals are reviewing plans for blockades is hardly proof of their intentions. The U.S. military routinely makes plans for scores of scenarios, the vast majority of which will never be put into practice. "Planners always plan," says a Pentagon official. Asked about the orders, a second official said only that the Navy is stepping up its "listening and learning" in the Persian Gulf but nothing more—a prudent step, he added, after Iran tested surface-to-ship missiles there in August during a two-week

military exercise. And yet from the State Department to the White House to the highest reaches of the military command, there is a growing sense that a showdown with Iran—over its suspected quest for nuclear weapons, its threats against Israel and its bid for dominance of the world's richest oil region—may be impossible to avoid. The chief of the U.S. Central Command (Centcom), General John Abizaid, has called a commanders conference for later this month in the Persian Gulf—sessions he holds at least quarterly—and Iran is on the agenda.

On its face, of course, the notion of a war with Iran seems absurd. By any rational

18 months, Rice has kept the Administration's hard-line faction at bay while leading a coalition that includes four other members of the U.N. Security Council and is trying to force Tehran to halt its suspicious nuclear ambitions. Even Iran's former President, Mohammed Khatami, was in Washington this month calling for a "dialogue" between the two nations.

But superpowers don't always get to choose their enemies or the timing of their confrontations. The fact that all sides would risk losing so much in armed conflict doesn't mean they won't stumble into one anyway. And for all the good arguments against any war now, much less this one, there are just as many indications that a genuine, eyeball-to-eyeball crisis between the U.S. and Iran may be looming, and sooner than many realize. "At the moment," says Ali Ansari, a top Iran authority at London's Chatham House, a foreign-policy think tank, "we are headed for conflict."

So what would it look like? Interviews with dozens of experts and government officials in Washington, Tehran and elsewhere in the Middle East paint a sobering picture: military action against Iran's nuclear facilities would have a decent chance of succeeding, but at a staggering cost. And therein lies the excruciating calculus facing the U.S. and its allies: Is the cost of confronting Iran greater than the dangers of living with a nuclear Iran? And can anything short of war persuade Tehran's fundamentalist regime to give up its dangerous game?

ROAD TO WAR

THE CRISIS WITH IRAN HAS BEEN YEARS IN THE making. Over the past decade, Iran has acquired many of the pieces, parts and plants needed to make a nuclear device. Although Iranian officials insist that Iran's ambitions are limited to nuclear energy, the regime has asserted its right to develop nuclear power and enrich uranium that could be used in bombs as an end in itself—a symbol of sovereign pride, not to mention a useful prop for politicking. Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has crisscrossed the country in recent months making Iran's right to a nuclear program a national cause and trying to solidify his base of hard-line support in the Revolutionary Guards. The nuclear program is popular with average Iranians and the elites as well. "Iranian leaders have this sense of past glory, this belief that Iran should play a lofty role in the world," says Nasser Hadian, professor of political science at Tehran University.

But the nuclear program isn't Washington's only worry about Iran. While stoking nationalism at home, Tehran has dramatically consolidated its reach in the region. Since the 1979 Islamic revolution, Iran has sponsored terrorist groups in a handful of countries, but its backing of Hizballah, the militant group that took Lebanon to war with Israel this summer, seems to be changing the Middle East balance of power. There is circumstantial evidence that Iran ordered Hizballah to provoke this summer's war, in part to demonstrate that Tehran can stir up big trouble if pushed to the brink. The precise extent of coordination between Hizballah and Tehran is unknown. But no longer in dispute after the standoff in July is Iran's ability to project power right up to the borders of Israel. It is no coincidence that the talk in Washington about what to do with Iran became more focused after Hizballah fought the Israeli army to a virtual standstill this summer.

And yet the West has been unable to compel Iran to comply with its demands. Despite all the work Rice has put into her coalition, diplomatic efforts are moving too slowly, some believe, to stop the Iranians before they acquire the makings of a nuclear device. And Iran has played its hand shrewdly so far. Tehran took weeks to reply to a formal proposal from the U.N. Security Council calling on a halt to uranium enrichment. When it did, its official response was a mosaic of half-steps, conditions and boilerplate that suggested Tehran has little intention of backing down. "The Iranians," says a Western diplomat in Washington, "are very able negotiators."

That doesn't make war inevitable. But at some point the U.S. and its allies may have to confront the ultimate choice. The Bush Administration has said it won't tolerate Iran having a nuclear weapon. Once it does, the regime will have the capacity to carry out Ahmadinejad's threats to eliminate Israel. And in practical terms, the U.S. would have to consider military action long before Iran had an actual bomb. In military circles, there is a debate about where—and when—to draw that line. U.S. intelligence chief John Negroponte told TIME in April that Iran is five years away from having a nuclear weapon. But some nonproliferation experts worry about a different moment: when Iran is able to enrich enough uranium to fuel a bomb—a point that comes well before engineers actually assemble a nuclear device. Many believe that is when a country becomes a nuclear power. That red line, experts say, could be just a year away.



WAR GAMES

An Iranian submarine trawls the waters of the Persian Gulf during military exercises last April

measure, the last thing the U.S. can afford is another war. Two unfinished wars—one on Iran's eastern border, the other on its western flank—are daily depleting America's treasury and overworked armed forces. Most of Washington's allies in those adventures have made it clear they will not join another gamble overseas. What's more, the Bush team, led by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, has done more diplomatic spade work on Iran than on any other project in its 5½ years in office. For more than

NUCLEAR TARGETS

If it comes, a U.S. military strike against Iran would aim to hit as many as 1,500 sites. But even that might not be enough to end Iran's ambitions

THE MISSILE THREAT

■ Iran has an arsenal of short- and medium-range missiles capable of hitting Israel and southern Europe. The Shahab-4 may have been tested, but no longer-range missile has been produced.

—Shahab-5
Potential range:
3,400 miles (5,500 km)

—Shahab-4
Potential range:
1,250 miles (2,000 km)

—Shahab-3
Maximum range:
840 miles (1,350 km)

—Shahab-2
Maximum range:
435 miles (700 km)

—Shahab-1
Maximum range:
205 miles (330 km)

TEHRAN

The city and its suburbs contain a host of nuclear and missile R&D facilities. Among them are the Kalaye Electric Co., which produces centrifuge parts and is the site of uranium-enrichment activity; the Shahid Hemmat Industrial Group, which develops Iran's ballistic and cruise missiles; and the Tehran Nuclear Research Center.

ARAK

Iran recently opened a heavy-water-production plant to supply a planned heavy-water nuclear reactor, which could either produce isotopes for medical and industrial use or secretly provide plutonium for bombs.

BUSHEHR

Its new, Russian-built 1,000-MW light-water reactor should soon be up and running. It could produce electricity or spent fuel for a quarter-ton of plutonium—enough for 30 atom bombs a year.

WHAT WAR WOULD LOOK LIKE: THE U.S.'S OPTIONS

LIMITED AIR STRIKES

Aimed at crippling Tehran's nuclear program, the actual campaign would last several days. Heavy bombers like the **B-1**, **B-2** and **B-52** would fly from Missouri, Guam or Diego Garcia to attack dozens of key nuclear and missile sites using various munitions, including "bunker busting" GBU-28 bombs to hit underground facilities. **Tomahawk cruise missiles** launched from ships and subs in the gulf would also target fixed air-defense and radar installations.

A FULL-SCALE ATTACK

A longer and bloodier scenario with hundreds of targets, an invasion would have the ultimate goal of removing the Iranian regime. Targets would include nuclear facilities and missile sites, Iran's air-defense system, radar installations, Revolutionary Guard and other military command centers, government offices and even oil pipelines. **U.S. ground troops** would push across the borders from Iraq and Afghanistan, eventually converging on Tehran.

Iran is developing its main uranium-enrichment facility and a large-scale commercial heavy-water plant here. Much of it is deep underground, and could eventually produce enough enriched uranium for about 20 nuclear warheads a year.

SAGHAND

Site of uranium-mining operations. Iran is believed to have 5,000 tons of uranium reserves.

AFGHANISTAN

TABS

U.S. troops

ISFAHAN

The hub of Iran's nuclear-weapons program, it includes three research reactors and a uranium-conversion facility. It also has Iran's largest missile-assembly plant and major chemical-weapons facilities.

Strait of Hormuz

B-52

B-2

TIME Graphic by Joe Lertola and Kathleen Adams

Sources: GlobalSecurity.org; Nuclear Threat Initiative; Wisconsin Project; IAEA; CSIS; LandScan 2003; UT-Battelle, LLC

Suspected missile site



Nuclear facility



Radar site

Population per sq. mi. (2.59 sq km)

0 1 10 100 1,000 10,000 100,000

WOULD AN ATTACK WORK?

THE ANSWER IS YES AND NO.

No one is talking about a ground invasion of Iran. Too many U.S. troops are tied down elsewhere to make it possible, and besides, it isn't necessary. If the U.S. goal is simply to stunt Iran's nuclear program, it can be done better and more safely by air. An attack limited to Iran's nuclear facilities would nonetheless require a massive campaign. Experts say that Iran has between 18 and 30 nuclear-related facilities. The sites are dispersed around the country—some in the open, some cloaked in the guise of conventional factories, some buried deep underground.

A Pentagon official says that among the known sites there are 1,500 different "aim points," which means the campaign could well require the involvement of almost every type of aircraft in the U.S. arsenal: Stealth bombers and fighters, B-1s and B-2s, as well as F-15s and F-16s operating from land and F-18s from aircraft carriers.

CPS-guided munitions and laser-targeted bombs—sighted by satellite, spotter aircraft and unmanned vehicles—would do most of the bunker busting. But because many of the targets are hardened under several feet of reinforced concrete, most would have to be hit over and over to ensure that they were destroyed or sufficiently damaged.

The U.S. would have to mount the usual aerial ballet, refueling tankers as well as search-and-rescue helicopters in case pilots were shot down by Iran's aging but possibly still effective air defenses. U.S. submarines and ships could launch cruise missiles as well, but their warheads are generally too small to do much damage to reinforced concrete—and might be used for secondary targets. An operation of that size

would hardly be surgical. Many sites are in highly populated areas, so civilian casualties would be a certainty.

Whatever the order of battle, a U.S. strike would have a lasting impression on Iran's rulers. U.S. officials believe that a campaign of several days, involving hundreds or even thousands of sorties, could set back Iran's nuclear program by two to three years. Hit hard enough, some believe, Iranians might develop second thoughts

about their government's designs as a regional nuclear power. Some U.S. foes of Iran's regime believe that the crisis of legitimacy that the ruling clerics would face in the wake of a U.S. attack could trigger their downfall, although others are convinced it would unite the population with the government in anti-American rage.

But it is also likely that the U.S. could carry out a massive attack and still leave Iran with some part of its nuclear program intact. It's possible that U.S. warplanes could destroy every known nuclear site—while Tehran's nuclear wizards, operating at other, undiscovered sites even deeper underground, continued their work. "We don't know where it all is," said a White House official, "so we can't get it all."

WHAT WOULD COME NEXT?

NO ONE WHO HAS SPENT ANY TIME THINKING about an attack on Iran doubts that a U.S. operation would reap a whirlwind. The only mystery is what kind. "It's not a question of whether we can do a strike or not and whether the strike could be effective," says retired Marine General Anthony Zinni. "It certainly would be, to some degree. But are you prepared for all that follows?"

Retired Air Force Colonel Sam Gardiner, who taught strategy at the National War College, has been conducting a mock U.S.-Iran war game for American policymakers for the past five years. Virtually every time he runs the game, Gardiner says, a similar nightmare scenario unfolds: the U.S. attack, no matter how successful, spawns a variety of asymmetrical retaliations by Tehran. First comes terrorism: Iran's initial reaction to air strikes might be to authorize a Hizballah attack on Israel, in order to draw Israel into the war and rally public support at home.

Next, Iran might try to foment as much mayhem as possible inside the two nations on its flanks, Afghanistan and Iraq, where more than 160,000 U.S. troops hold a tenuous grip on local populations. Iran has already dabbled in partnership with warlords in western Afghanistan, where U.S. military authority has never been strong; it would be a small step to lend aid to Taliban forces gaining strength in the south. Meanwhile, Tehran has links to the main factions in Iraq, which would welcome a boost in money and weapons, if just to strengthen their hand against rivals. Analysts generally believe that Iran could in a short time orchestrate a dramatic increase in the number and severity of attacks on U.S. troops in Iraq. As Syed Ayad, a secular Shi'ite cleric

and Iraqi Member of Parliament says, "America owns the sky of Iraq with their Apaches, but Iran owns the ground."

Next, there is oil. The Persian Gulf, a traffic jam on good days, would become a parking lot. Iran could plant mines and launch dozens of armed boats into the bottleneck, choking off the shipping lanes in the Strait of Hormuz and causing a massive disruption of oil-tanker traffic. A low-key Iranian mining operation in 1987 forced the U.S. to reflag Kuwaiti oil tankers and escort them, in slow-moving files of one and two, up and down the Persian Gulf. A more intense operation would probably send oil prices soaring above \$100 per bbl.—which may explain why the Navy wants to be sure its small fleet of mine-sweepers is ready to go into action at a moment's notice. It is unlikely that Iran would turn off its own oil spigot or halt its exports through pipelines overland, but it could direct its proxies in Iraq and Saudi Arabia to attack pipelines, wells and shipment points inside those countries, further choking supply and driving up prices.

That kind of retaliation could quickly transform a relatively limited U.S. mission in Iran into a much more complicated one involving regime change. An Iran determined to use all its available weapons to counterattack the U.S. and its allies would present a challenge to American prestige that no Commander in Chief would be likely to tolerate for long. Zinni, for one, believes an attack on Iran could eventually lead to U.S. troops on the ground. "You've got to be careful with your assumptions," he says. "In Iraq, the assumption was that it would be a liberation, not an occupation. You've got to be prepared for the worst case, and the worst case involving Iran takes you down to boots on the ground." All that, he says, makes an attack on Iran a "dumb idea." Abizaid, the current Centcom boss, chooses his words carefully last May. "Look, any war with a country that is as big as Iran, that has a terrorist capability along its borders, that has a missile capability that is external to its own borders and that has the ability to affect the world's oil markets is something that everyone needs to contemplate with a great degree of clarity."

CAN IT BE STOPPED?

GIVEN THE CHAOS THAT A WAR MIGHT UNLEASH, what options does the world have to avoid it? One approach would be for the U.S. to accept Iran as a nuclear power and learn to live with an Iranian bomb, focusing its efforts on deterrence rather than pre-



THE AGITATOR

Ahmadinejad, shown saluting crowds in Ardabil Province, insists on Iran's natural right to nuclear technology

emption. The risk is that a nuclear-armed Iran would use its regional primacy to become the dominant foreign power in Iraq, threaten Israel and make it harder for Washington to exert its will in the region. And it could provoke Sunni countries in the region, like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, to start nuclear programs of their own to contain rising Shi'ite power.

Those equally unappetizing prospects—war or a new arms race in the Middle East—explain why the White House is kicking up its efforts to resolve the Iran problem before it gets that far. Washington is doing everything it can to make Iran think twice about its ongoing game of stonewall. It is a measure of the Administration's unity on Iran that confrontationalists like Vice President Dick Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld have lately not wandered off the rhetorical reservation. Everyone has been careful—for now—to stick to Rice's diplomatic emphasis. "Nobody is considering a military option at this point," says an Administration official. "We're trying to prevent a situation in which the President finds himself having to decide between a nuclear-armed Iran or going to war. The best hope of avoiding that dilemma is hard-nosed diplomacy, one that has serious consequences."

Rice continues to try for that. This week in New York City, she will push her partners

to get behind a new sanctions resolution that would ban Iranian imports of dual-use technologies, like parts for its centrifuge cascades for uranium enrichment, and bar travel overseas by certain government officials. The next step would be restrictions on government purchases of computer software and hardware, office supplies, tires and auto parts—steps Russia and China have signaled some reluctance to endorse. But even Rice's advisers don't believe that Iran can be persuaded to completely abandon its ambitions. Instead, they hope to tie Iran up in a series of suspensions, delays and negotiations until a more pragmatic faction of leadership in Tehran gains the upper hand.

At the moment, that sounds as much like a prayer as a strategy. A former CIA director, asked not long ago whether a moderate faction will ever emerge in Tehran, quipped, "I don't think I've ever met an Iranian moderate—not at the top of the government, anyway." But if sanctions don't work, what might? Outside the Administration, a growing group of foreign-policy hands from both parties have called on the U.S. to bring Tehran into direct negotiations in the hope of striking a grand bargain. Under that formula, the U.S. might offer Iran some security guarantees—such as forswearing efforts to topple Iran's theocratic regime—in exchange for Iran's agreeing to open its facilities to international inspectors and abandon weapons-related projects. It would be painful for any U.S. Administration to recognize the legitimacy of a regime that sponsors terrorism and calls for Israel's destruction—but the time may come when that's the only bargaining chip short of war the U.S. has left. And still that may not be enough. "[The Iranians] would give up nuclear power if they truly believed the U.S. would accept Iran as it is," says a university professor in Tehran who asked not to be identified. "But the mistrust runs too deep for them to believe that is possible."

Such distrust runs both ways and is getting deeper. Unless the U.S., its allies and Iran can find a way to make diplomacy work, the whispers of blockades and mine-sweepers in the Persian Gulf may soon be drowned out by the cries of war. And if the U.S. has learned anything over the past five years, it's that war in the Middle East rarely goes according to plan. —**Reported by Brian Bennett/Baghdad, James Graft/Paris, Scott MacLeod/Cairo, J.F.O. McAllister/London, Tim McGirk/Jerusalem, Azadeh Moaveni/Tehran and Mike Allen, Sally B. Donnelly, Elaine Shannon, Mark Thompson, Douglas Waller, Michael Weisskopf and Adam Zagorin/Washington**

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*Seddon, J.M.; Ajani, U.A.; Sperduto, R.D.; et al. "Dietary Carotenoids, Vitamins A, C, and E, and Advanced Age-Related Macular Degeneration." JAMA (1994): 272:1413-1420.
Delcourt, Carriere, Delage, Barberger-Gateau, Schalch, and the POLA Study Group. "Plasma Lutein and Zeaxanthin and Other Carotenoids as Modifiable Risk Factors for Age-Related Maculopathy and Cataract: The POLA Study." Investigative Ophthalmology & Visual Science, June 2006, Vol. 47, No. 6.

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Jeff Israely

The Pontiff Has a Point

His take on Islam, however clumsy, raises tough truths about reason and religion

ONE OF THE SIGNATURE BUZZWORDS OF JOHN PAUL II'S papacy was "dialogue." So committed was he to seeking common ground with leaders of different faiths that he all but institutionalized the process in 1986 by hosting the first of a series of interreligious gatherings in the medieval Italian town of Assisi. It was well known in Vatican circles that Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, among the Pope's most loyal lieutenants, was lukewarm to the Assisi enthusiasm. The German Cardinal was, after all, among the world's most rigorous (and traditionalist) Catholic theologians, skeptical of any attempt to water down differences among faiths. Still, when that same theologian became Pope Benedict XVI, he understood that the hard-won lines of communication with the world's other faiths must stay open.

But rather than dialogue, the Pope now faces the need to perform major interfaith damage control. The outcry in the Muslim world that followed his provocative lecture last week on faith and reason—and the origins of holy war—is evidence that the 79-year-old Benedict needs to work on the diplomatic requirements of his new job. In the speech at Regensburg University, he opened a much broader theological exploration by quoting these words of a 14th century Byzantine Emperor: "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new, and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached."

Perhaps Islamic sensibilities could have been spared if the speech had included a clear indication that the Pope did not agree with the inflammatory words from 600 years ago. Still, the fallout doesn't mean that the speech was a mistake or that a Pope can never mention Muhammad. In fact, the 35-minute discourse could turn out to be the most important step forward for interfaith dialogue since that first meeting in Assisi. It could also set off a new round of anti-Western violence by angry Muslims. Or both. Such is the world that this shy, academic-minded pastor was presented with 17 months ago when he became Pope. The buzzwords today are 9/11, clash of civilizations, jihad—and old formulas must now be replaced by hard, new thinking, even at the risk of offending sensibilities.

This theologian in chief for a billion Catholics should not shy

MASS CONTROVERSY: Benedict XVI's impolitic speech roiled the Muslim world

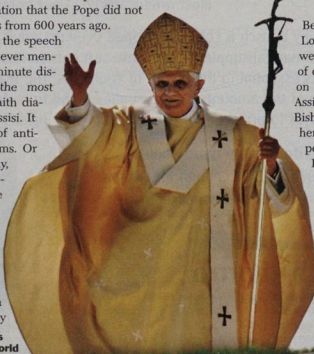
away from serious theology. Benedict's razor-sharp intellect is the best skill he has to offer his church—and potentially the world as well. When he turned that brainpower toward the realm of interreligious relations in last week's speech, Benedict shifted the terms of a debate that has been dominated by either feel-good truisms, victimization complexes or hateful confrontation. He sought instead to delineate what he sees as a fundamental difference between Christianity's view that God is intrinsically linked to reason (the Greek concept of Logos) and Islam's view that "God is absolutely transcendent."

Benedict said Islam teaches that God's "will is not bound up with any of our categories, even that of rationality." The risk he sees implicit in this concept of the divine is that the irrationality of violence might thereby appear to be justified to someone who believes it is God's will. The essential question, he said, was this: "Is the conviction that acting unreasonably contradicts God's nature ... always and intrinsically true?"

His questions were not reserved only for the Islamic world. As he has done before, Benedict spoke about the need for the West, especially Europe, to reverse its tendency toward godless secularism. He believes that the gift of reason that he cherishes in Christianity has been warped by the West into an absolutist doctrine. And that too, he believes, prevents the opening of a productive channel for dialogue with a more faithful Islamic society. "Reason and faith," he insisted, must "come together in a new way."


Toward the end of his lecture, Benedict said, "It is to this great Logos, to this breadth of reason, that we invite our partners in the dialogue of cultures." Indeed, just last month, on the 20th anniversary of that first Assisi encounter, the Pope sent to the Bishop of Assisi a written message that heralded John Paul's promotion of peaceful dialogue among religions.

If Benedict can acquire enough of his predecessor's political touch, the theologian's hard thinking may help the West begin the difficult conversation with its Islamic brothers—one that includes a clear definition of differences as well as a search for common ground—that is so badly needed. ■



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Please read this summary of information about LUNESTA before you talk to your doctor or start using LUNESTA. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about LUNESTA tablets, be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

LUNESTA is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as difficulty in falling asleep, difficulty in maintaining sleep during the night, and waking up too early in the morning. Most people with insomnia have more than one of these problems. You should take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed because of the risk of falling.

LUNESTA belongs to a group of medicines known as "hypnotics" or, simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent. It usually requires treatment for only a short time, usually 7 to 10 days up to 2 weeks. If your insomnia does not improve after 7 to 10 days of treatment, see your doctor, because it may be a sign of an underlying condition. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

Side Effects

All medicines have side effects. The most common side effects of sleep medicines are:

- Drowsiness
- Dizziness
- Lightheadedness
- Difficulty with coordination

Sleep medicines can make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of LUNESTA that is best for you. Some people taking LUNESTA have reported next-day sleepiness.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- Do not drink alcohol when you are taking LUNESTA or any sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking LUNESTA.
- Always take the exact dose of LUNESTA prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

Special Concerns

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

Memory Problems

Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine. Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia." Memory problems have been reported rarely by patients taking LUNESTA in clinical studies. In most cases, memory problems can be avoided if

you take LUNESTA only when you are able to get a full night of sleep before you need to be active again. Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems.

Tolerance

When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness in helping you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Development of tolerance to LUNESTA was not observed in a clinical study of 6 weeks' duration. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent, and prolonged use of sleep medicines is generally not necessary. Some people, though, have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

Dependence

Sleep medicines can cause dependence in some people, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Dependence is the need to continue taking a medicine because stopping it is unpleasant.

When people develop dependence, stopping the medicine suddenly may cause unpleasant symptoms (see *Withdrawal* below). They may find they have to keep taking the medicine either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks. If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting LUNESTA or any sleep medicine.

Withdrawal

Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two. In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and, rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon. Although withdrawal symptoms have not been observed in the relatively limited controlled trials experience with LUNESTA, there is, nevertheless, the risk of such events in association with the use of any sleep medicine.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

Changes in Behavior And Thinking

Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- More outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- Confusion
- Strange behavior
- Agitation
- Hallucinations
- Worsening of depression
- Suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used. Clinical experience with LUNESTA suggests that it is rarely associated with these behavior changes.

It is also important to realize that it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, are caused by an

illness, or have occurred on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to other factors that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

Pregnancy And Breastfeeding

Sleep medicines may cause sedation or other potential effects in the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA.

In addition, a very small amount of LUNESTA may be present in breast milk after the use of the medication. The effects of very small amounts of LUNESTA on an infant are not known; therefore, as with all other prescription sleep medicines, it is recommended that you not take LUNESTA if you are breastfeeding a baby.

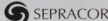
Safe Use Of Sleep Medicines

To ensure the safe and effective use of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. LUNESTA is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take LUNESTA.
2. Never use LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription and herbal preparations. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. Do NOT use alcohol while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get 8 or more hours of sleep before you must be active again.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night or two after stopping any sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you are breastfeeding a baby while taking LUNESTA.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine in the original container and out of reach of children.
11. Be sure to tell your doctor if you suffer from depression.
12. LUNESTA works very quickly. You should only take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed.
13. For LUNESTA to work best, you should not take it with or immediately after a high-fat, heavy meal.
14. Some people, such as older adults (i.e., ages 65 and over) and people with liver disease, should start with the lower dose (1 mg) of LUNESTA. Your doctor may choose to start therapy at 2 mg. In general, adults under age 65 should be treated with 2 or 3 mg.
15. Each tablet is a single dose; do not crush or break the tablet.

Note: This summary provides important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist to let you read the Prescribing Information and then discuss it with him or her.

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N A T I O N

Leading a Rebellion

Why G.O.P. Senator Lindsey Graham is taking on the President over rules for enemy combatants

By KAREN TUMULTY and PERRY BACON JR. WASHINGTON

IF YOU WANT TO UNDERSTAND HOW A baby-faced freshman Republican Senator from conservative South Carolina has come to be standing against President George W. Bush on the issue of how to interrogate and try terrorism suspects, it helps to know how Lindsey Graham spent part of his summer. A month ago, when most Senators were back home campaigning and fund raising, he was in Kabul, Afghanistan, answering to "Colonel." Wearing desert fatigues, with an M9 pistol strapped to his hip, Graham was conducting a two-day tutorial on the principles of U.S. military law at the Afghan Defense Ministry. He recalls coaching Afghan military lawyers, who are modeling their system after that of the U.S.: "It's important that when the troops act badly, they are punished to keep good order and discipline, but it's equally important that people believe

that the punishment and the system itself are fair." The only Senator now serving in the National Guard or reserve, and the first in decades to do military duty in a combat zone, Graham adds, "It has to be based on what the person did and not who the person is."

That's pretty much the same argument that Graham is making back in Washington, where he is helping turn what looked like a smart political strategy into an internecine battle among Republicans on Capitol Hill. White House and congressional leaders had hoped that focusing on terrorism in the final months before a tight midterm election would give their party an advantage over the

Democrats. But they didn't count on a rebellion in their own ranks, made worse by the fact that it is led by Graham and two more senior members of the Armed Services Committee who also have impressive military credentials: chairman John Warner, a former Secretary of the Navy who was a Marine ground officer in the Korean War, four years before Graham was born; and John McCain, a former Navy pilot whose father and grandfather were admirals and who still suffers from what he endured during 5½ years in a North Vietnamese POW camp.

Graham got his battle testing in a military courtroom, first at Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina and then as chief prosecutor for the Air Force in Europe during the 1980s. He insists that Bush's proposal to tamper with the interpretation of the Geneva Conventions and put detainees on trial without letting them see all the evidence against them would have far-reaching consequences because it would invite future enemies to do the same, or worse, to Americans they capture. That argument has drawn strong support from such powerful voices as Colin Powell, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and ex-Secretary of State, who in a rare public criticism of Bush policy sent McCain a letter warning that "the world is beginning to doubt the moral basis of our fight against terrorism." Caught in the middle have been Graham's fellow military lawyers, many of

FREE THINKER Even before his trip to Kabul, Graham (shown here in 2005) would buck the G.O.P. establishment

whom share misgivings about the detainee program. At a closed session of the Armed Services Committee last week, Senator John Cornyn of Texas brandished a letter signed by top lawyers of each service saying they "do not object" to a key part of Bush's plan. But he may have overstated their level of support. "That's not the whole story," Graham said to Cornyn, according to a witness. Last week, amid bitter Republican infighting and despite a White House lobbying effort that brought both Bush and Vice President Cheney to Capitol Hill, the committee defiantly passed the trio's proposal for trying and interrogating terrorism suspects, rather than Bush's. The showdown on the Senate floor, where majority leader Bill Frist is expected to introduce the President's proposal, is not likely to be pretty.

It's not the first time Graham has put the Bush Administration on the spot. When the Abu Ghraib prison scandal broke most inconveniently in a presidential election year, he demanded accountability up the chain of command. "What are we fighting for?" the Senator asked at a hearing. "To be like Saddam Hussein?" On Bush's biggest domestic initiative, Graham supported the President's idea to add individual savings accounts to Social Security but also suggested a heretical payroll-tax increase to finance them. He infuriated the right last year by joining the bipartisan, largely moderate "Gang of 14" that blocked a change in Senate rules that would have ended Democratic filibusters of Bush's judicial nominees. Graham more recently helped ice the appeals-court nomination of Defense Department counsel William Haynes, an architect of the Administration's detainee policy.

Graham, 51, so confounds political labeling that his fellow apostate McCain, 70, has dubbed him "my illegitimate son." Like McCain, the presumed front runner for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008, Graham has a voting record that defies the headlines he creates. From the time he introduced his first piece of legislation in the South Carolina General Assembly, a bill barring gays and lesbians from serving in the state's National Guard, Graham has heaved to the right on social issues. He got a 96% rating from the American Conservative Union last year, and a zero from NARAL Pro-Choice America. As a House member, Graham caught the nation's attention playing corn-pone puritan as a House manager in Bill Clinton's impeachment trial. "Where I come from," Graham memorably drawled during the trial in the Senate chamber, as he described a phone call the President made to Monica Lewinsky, "you call somebody at

2:30 in the morning, you're up to no good." But in the Senate, Graham has become one of Hillary Clinton's good friends and has sponsored legislation with her to expand health benefits for reservists and members of the Guard—one of many times he has worked across the Senate aisle. Alex Sanders, the Democrat he defeated in 2002 to get the job, told TIME, "If I'd have known how Lindsey would turn out, I would have voted for him." And Dick Harpootian, who in 2002 chaired the South Carolina Democratic Party, has gone so far as to send Graham a \$1,000 campaign contribution.

As you might imagine, none of that sits particularly well with the G.O.P. establishment back home. "To say that Lindsey Gra-

"If I had known how Lindsey would turn out, I would have voted for him."
—DEMOCRAT ALEX SANDERS

ham has been a disappointment to the conservatives who were the heart and soul of his campaign would be an understatement," Republican political consultant Jeffrey Sewell wrote last week in the *State*, one of South Carolina's largest newspapers. "Unfortunately, our senior Senator has moved from disappointing to downright dangerous." Some Republicans are encouraging wealthy shopping-center developer Thomas Ravenel to take Graham on in the 2008 G.O.P. primary and have circulated an online petition to draft him. Ravenel—who has called Graham "the third Senator from New York"—says he has "no intention" of running against him, but that could change.

Making his own way is nothing new for Graham. He grew up in the rooms behind the Sanitary Cafe, a pool hall, bar and liquor store that his parents owned in Central, S.C. Graham's father, known as Dude, tended bar for the millworker clientele; the future Senator racked balls and answered phones. You've learned everything you really need to know about politics, Graham says, when you've had the experience of telling a wife who is on the line and looking for her husband, "He says he's not here." Graham set his sights on the military early, joining the ROTC in college, and he would have been a pilot were it not for a bad ear and dismal math scores. He had to adjust his plans again when his parents died within two years of

each other while he was still in college, leaving him with a 13-year-old sister to provide for. After graduating from law school, he formally adopted her, mostly so that she would be eligible for his military benefits.

Once out of the Air Force, he returned to South Carolina and entered politics, where it seemed as if everything went his way. After two years in the legislature, he caught the Republican wave of 1994 and rode it to the House of Representatives. He supported McCain in the state's brutal 2000 G.O.P. primary and might have been punished by the new President's team, except for the fact that a Senate seat opened up with the retirement of 100-year-old Strom Thurmond two years later, and Graham had the best shot at winning it. Bush ended up coming to the state to campaign for him, in what became the most expensive Senate race in state history.

Those who don't like Graham say he is an opportunist and a grandstander. There are stories of him driving two hours for the chance to be on television for three minutes. But this month's "Best and Worst of Congress" rankings in *Washingtonian* magazine—the kind of popularity contest you might remember from your high school yearbook—have him pegged by a poll of 1,700 Capitol Hill insiders as one of the top choices in four categories: "Rising Star," "Straightest Shooter," "Bridge-Building Centrist" and "Funniest."

One place where Graham is not giving anyone much to laugh about these days is the White House. In an impassioned Rose Garden news conference, Bush warned that the proposal by the rebellious Republican Senators, if carried out, would give him no choice but to cancel the CIA's interrogation program of high-value terrorism suspects because it would deprive "our professionals" of the clear permission they need to continue using aggressive interrogation techniques. And the President suggested that the consequences of losing those techniques could be dire: "Were it not for this program, our intelligence community believes that al-Qaeda and its allies would have succeeded in launching another attack against the American homeland."

Graham insists that there are still ways to work out a compromise, although both sides appear to be digging in. "I share the President's goal of pursuing a CIA program that would protect us and operate within the rule of law," he told TIME. "And I will work with him to achieve that." That's a call to duty for both Senator and Colonel Graham. —With reporting by Sally B. Donnelly/Washington



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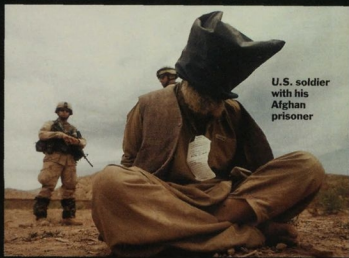
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A Guide to the Terrorism Bills

MUCH OF BUSH'S WAR ON TERRORISM HAS BEEN waged in the shadows. But with secret surveillance and detention programs now exposed, the Administration has been forced to reckon with the lights, and the law. The President has offered two bills to put his programs on a legal footing. So far, the strongest opposition has come from his own party. —By Massimo Calabresi



U.S. soldier with his Afghan prisoner

SPYING



BUSH'S BILL would allow—but not require—the President to seek approval for the National Security Agency's (NSA's) no-warrant electronic-

surveillance program from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) court. Bush has said he would seek the court's approval for the program, which he says targets only suspected terrorists calling or e-mailing to or from the U.S. Current law requires the government to get the FISA court's permission for each device—rather than each suspect—to be wiretapped; Bush claims his wartime powers override that law. His bill would send all legal challenges pending against the no-warrant program to the FISA court and allow for appeals up to the Supreme Court. It would add penalties for leaking information about official surveillance programs. The existence of the NSA program was revealed by the New York Times.

CONGRESSWOMAN HEATHER WILSON'S BILL would allow the targeting of individuals, not devices, but would require eavesdroppers to get a warrant within weeks of doing so. The bill would require that Congress be given written notification and justification for no-warrant wiretaps. Most Senate Republicans support Bush's plan, but leading House Republicans back Wilson, a New Mexico Republican, who chairs the subcommittee that oversees eavesdropping.

DEMOCRATIC BILLS in both chambers would strengthen the 1978 law and would try to make Bush comply with it.

QUESTIONING



BUSH'S BILL seeks to set the rules for future treatment of detainees in the war on terrorism. Arguing that some of the language of the Geneva

Conventions regulating the treatment of prisoners of war is too vague—like the prohibition in Common Article 3 against “outrages upon personal dignity”—Bush would remove Geneva references from the U.S.'s 1996 War Crimes Act, which provides penalties up to death for abuse of detainees. Instead, he would identify nine violations: torture, cruel or inhuman treatment, performing biological experiments, murder, mutilation or maiming, intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury, rape, sexual assault or abuse and taking hostages. The bill states that these prohibitions “shall fully satisfy United States obligations” under Geneva. It would apply retroactively to all detentions after 9/11 to provide some legal protection to U.S. jailers and interrogators who dealt with detainees between then and the putative passage of the bill.

JOHN MCCAIN'S BILL would protect interrogators from civil suits, would punish them only for grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and would increase rights of appeal to the U.S. courts. It would preserve references to the Geneva Conventions in the War Crimes Act. The Arizona Senator and his co-sponsors, John Warner and Lindsey Graham, argue that if the U.S. interprets Geneva to its liking, other countries will too, endangering American troops if they are captured.

PROSECUTING



BUSH'S BILL on questioning detainees would create military courts to try foreign detainees in the war on terrorism. The bill would expand the

definition of who can be tried to include those charged with conspiracy and other lesser offenses. It would also establish the laws under which they would be tried—in response to the Supreme Court's June ruling that the original tribunals Bush established after 9/11 did not comply with Geneva's requirement of a “regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.” The new courts would afford defendants the right to a civilian lawyer, an insanity defense and a copy of the proceedings, with classified information removed. But coerced statements could be accepted as evidence, and detainees could be denied access to classified intelligence presented to jurors to build the case against them. The bill would set strict limits on detainees' access to U.S. civilian courts.

MCCAIN'S BILL would prohibit the introduction of coerced statements and would allow defendants to see the evidence used against them. Its sponsors argue that statements obtained under duress are not reliable and that no one can properly defend himself without fully knowing what he is accused of. Bush has the Senate leadership and House Republicans on his side. Warner, McCain and Graham have moderate Republican supporters and most, if not all, Senate Democrats.



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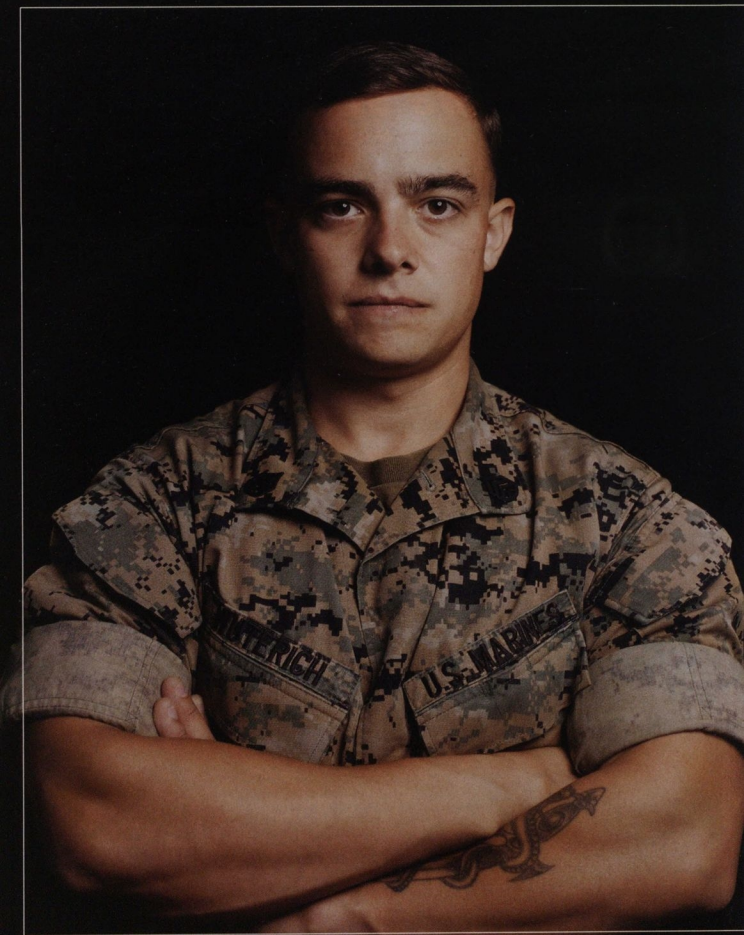
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The Face Of Haditha

Frank Wuterich led the Marines accused of the massacre in Iraq. He talks here for the first time

By SALLY B. DONNELLY

FRANK WUTERICH KNEW BEFORE HE FINISHED BOOT camp that he didn't want to be a Marine for life, but he may wind up one anyway. Wuterich is the central suspect in the Iraq war's most notorious massacre, at Haditha, where 24 Iraqis were killed by U.S. Marines—Marines led by Wuterich. During his first media interview, the former high school band member and honor student is exceedingly polite.

Wearing jeans, black sneakers and a light blue polo shirt, he shows a visitor around his two-story semidetached house at Camp Pendleton in southern California, patiently answers questions and waits good-naturedly for a photographer to set up his equipment. There is no military paraphernalia cluttering his home, which is filled instead with family pictures, knickknacks, and souvenirs from his wife Marisol's sorority days. His 4-year-old daughter is just up from her nap, and he kisses her forehead. He allows Marisol, who is expecting their third child in January, to finish his sentences.

Wuterich, 26, who grew up in Meriden, Conn., signed up for the Marines at 17 and volunteered for the infantry, the grunts who are the heart and soul of the corps. Finding boot camp a dull grind compared with what he felt the recruiting videos had promised, he asked to switch out of the infantry. "I thought I could use my mind a little differently," he says. But he was turned down. He tried again in 2002, requesting a transfer to counterintelligence, but his eight tattoos disqualified him; those kinds of markings make a man too easy to identify. Among the tattoos on his arms, chest, neck and leg are a series of musical notes, the kanji character for *endure* and a heart for an ex-girlfriend. The one tattoo he's reluctant to exhibit, on the inside of his right forearm, is of a skewer running through a bunch of severed fingers and eyeballs. "That's the one I really don't like," Marisol says sternly but with a smile.

Wuterich long imagined the corps as just a stop on the way to a career as a music producer, but he re-enlisted after 9/11, in part to support his family while Marisol finished her nursing degree but also because he was itching for action. With the rank

of sergeant, he was dispatched to Iraq with Kilo Company of the 3rd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment, in September 2005. He saw his first firefight that month in the town of Hit when his team suddenly came under fire. "Was I scared? Sure," he says. It turned out that the shots were coming from a Marine officer, who quit shooting once Wuterich's guys sent up three red flares letting him know they were friendly. While under fire, the squad members, none of whom were hurt, took cover and waited to identify the threat before shooting back. They performed just as they were supposed to, Wuterich says. His remark hangs in the air.

Wuterich is under investigation for what happened on another day, just two months after his arrival in Iraq. On the morning of Nov. 19, 2005, Wuterich's squad, on patrol in Haditha, was hit by an improvised explosive device that killed one of his men. Iraqi witnesses and sources familiar with the two Pentagon investigations under way claim that several of the squad's 12 Marines then went on a rampage of killing in the town, leaving 24 Iraqis dead, including five women and six children. Wuterich's lawyer Neal Puckett would not permit Wuterich to talk about those events. Puckett has said publicly that Wuterich felt his unit was under attack in Haditha and acted appropriately under the rules of engagement that allow Marines to defend themselves if they are in reasonable fear for their lives. According to sources familiar with the Haditha inquiries, six to eight Marines will probably be charged in the episode as early as next week. Wuterich is expected to be among those charged with the most serious crimes, which could include murder, for which he could face the death penalty.

"I'm mystified by a lot of this," he says. He wonders, for instance, why the investigators have not pushed harder to speak to him. But it was his lawyer who did not allow him to talk to them, as is common practice among defense attorneys. Wuterich was scheduled for retirement three months ago, but is being involuntarily held in the corps while the probes continue. Transferred to Pendleton with the rest of his unit in April, he is officially on duty, but he is not a full member of his platoon. When it goes on a training exercise soon, he is not likely to participate; the corps doesn't want to train him and then lose him if he goes on trial. Wuterich says he occasionally sees members of his Kilo Company squad at Pendleton, but they keep their distance. "It is sort of uncomfortable," he says.

There are small, subtle signs of Wuterich's detaching himself from his military life: his boots are too scuffed and worn for a Marine. And he hasn't updated his old dress uniform by sewing on the chevron that shows his higher rank. His superiors put in for his promotion to staff sergeant last October, and it came through on Jan. 1—six weeks after Haditha. He says the jacket's too tight, anyway.



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Mike Allen

What Bush's Body Language Means

The President's assertive words yield an aggressive posture

THE PRESIDENT IS STANDING face to face with NBC's Matt Lauer by the immaculate oak desk in the Oval Office, jabbing emphatically toward the *Today* anchorman's chest and insisting, "My job is to protect this country, Matt. And it gets second-guessed all the time by people who don't live in the United States." Lauer has interviewed Bush several times, and they have a convivial relationship, bonding about golf and bikes during breaks in the taping. But at the moment, Lauer is pressing the President on the legality of the CIA's secret detention program for accused

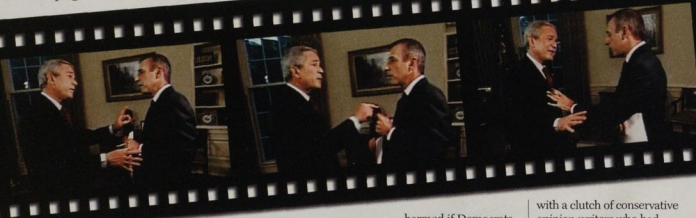
the nearly ceaseless storms since his re-election, confident that history will treat him right and disinclined to sweat the day's headlines or chatter. But as he stares down one last campaign, the President suddenly seems to be all adrenaline and testosterone. It shows in his frenetic schedule and in his assertive choice of words but perhaps most especially in his body language as he tries to win



twisted it around his finger until it was in a little bow." During a Rose Garden press conference, the President thrilled photographers with so many two-handed gestures—now up high, now out wide—that their motor drives could barely keep up.

During a day of chats just before the fifth anniversary of 9/11, ABC's Charles Gibson asked the President whether the nation's security would be

legendary political characters to "talk Texan" but also their physical presence—"people larger than life, people that could fill the stage." The President has been on just about every imaginable stage lately. He went to Capitol Hill; gave a prime-time address; held the Rose Garden news conference; invited an anchorman into his limo, an editorialist onto Air Force One and a columnist into the Oval; held an off-the-record session for conservative radio hosts; and sat down chummily



terrorists. Lauer holds his ground on the big rug as the Commander in Chief edges forward, encroaching on his space to the point that Lauer finally puts a hand on Bush's forearm to prevent a collision. When the cameras are turned off, according to a witness, Lauer tells the President, "Whoa! I thought you were coming after me there." Aides to both men laugh. The President lightens too, but adds, "I feel really strongly about this subject."

Friends and staff members have maintained that Bush has been a Steady Eddie through

over midterm voters by looking and sounding commanding—he's practically shaking voters by their lapels.

With the press, the President has been brimming over with restless energy. Rich Lowry of *National Review*, who was in a group of conservatives ushered onto the Oval Office couches and found the President to be "utterly self-assured," says the President nearly leaped out of his chair when he made some points. Lowry wrote that Bush untwisted what looked like a paper clip as he talked, "then

PRESSING A POINT Bush gets so up close with NBC's Matt Lauer that the anchor gently pushes back

harmed if Democrats carried the House this fall." "In my mind," Bush said, stabbing the air word by word with his pointer finger, "the Republican Party

and its members are much better suited to defending this country." Then the two of them jumped into the armored Caddy. Bush leaned deeply against the Presidential Seal in the middle of the backseat as he handicapped the '06 races.

It was revealing that when Bush eulogized former Texas Governor Ann Richards last week, he saluted not just the ability of his home state's

with a clutch of conservative opinion writers who had favored the war in Iraq but now think more troops are needed. That was all in nine days. He's so determined to be everywhere that he even did a White House interview with CBS's Katie Couric, despite his rough history with the network and the view among many Republican operatives that she's too liberal. It was a reserved, wintry performance. When they were about to take a break and Couric joked that he had a country to run, he offered, "I've got more than one thing to do on a regular basis, on a daily basis." But this time he did not jab his finger.



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This pain can be sharp or burning. It can feel like tingling, shooting, or numbness. Some people taking LYRICA had less pain by the end of the first week. LYRICA may not work for everyone.

WHO IS LYRICA FOR?

Who can take LYRICA:

- Adults 18 years or older with nerve pain from diabetes or after shingles

Who should NOT take LYRICA:

- Anyone who is allergic to anything in LYRICA

LYRICA has not been studied for nerve pain in children under 18 years of age.

BEFORE STARTING LYRICA

Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions. Tell your doctor if you:

- Have or had kidney problems or dialysis
- Have heart problems, including heart failure
- Have a bleeding problem or a low blood platelet count
- Have abused drugs or alcohol. LYRICA may cause some people to feel "high."
- Are either a man or woman planning to have children or a woman who is breast-feeding, pregnant, or may become pregnant. It is not known if LYRICA may decrease male fertility, cause birth defects, or pass into breast milk.

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take:

- Rosiglitazone (Avandia)* or pioglitazone (Actos)** for diabetes
- Narcotic pain medicines such as oxycodone, tranquilizers, or medicines for anxiety such as lorazepam
- Any medicines that make you sleepy

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LYRICA may cause serious side effects, including:

- Dizziness and sleepiness
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- Unexplained muscle pain, soreness, or weakness along with a fever or tired feeling. If you have these symptoms, tell your doctor right away.
- Skin sores. In LYRICA studies, skin sores were seen in animals but not in humans. If you have diabetes, pay extra attention to your skin. Tell your doctor about any skin problems.

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TIME

OCTOBER 2006

GLOBAL BUSINESS

A monthly report on the companies, countries and workplace trends that are shaping the worldwide economy



ANDREW HETHERINGTON—REUTERS/PAUL HIRSH

Prosperity has crowded Grafton Street, Dublin's hottest strip

COVER

The Irish Advantage

The Celtic Tiger still roars. But how long can Ireland sustain its unprecedented growth? Plus, why Polish workers are seeking out a bit of Irish luck

Big Blue Goes Red

When China's Lenovo bought IBM's PC business, it expected some culture clashes. Just what is a Tar Heel anyway?

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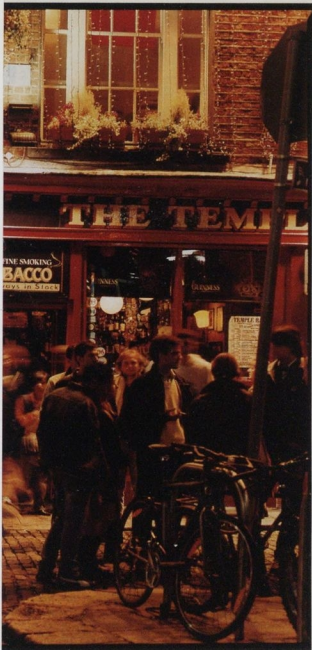
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TIME

BONUS SECTION

OCTOBER 2006

GLOBAL BUSINESS

Bustling hot spots like Grafton Street in Dublin point to Ireland's pumped-up economy



The Irish Question

Ireland has become the economic darling of Europe, but how long can the **CELTIC TIGER** keep its roar?

PHOTOGRAPH FOR TIME BY
ANDREW HETHERINGTON-REDUX

▼ Leixlip is home to Intel and 15,000 residents but still has a sleepy charm



BY JIM LEDBETTER LEIXLIP

THE MAIN STREET OF LEIXLIP IN COUNTY KILDARE LOOKS AS if it hasn't changed for decades. There are a handful of pubs, framed with cheerfully painted woodwork and festooned with neatly kept flower boxes. There are a news agent, a few Chinese takeout places, a betting parlor and shops—many with the pebble-dash storefronts so familiar in the Irish countryside—to buy carpet, tiles and other household fixtures. On summer nights, local teenagers sit on benches and stone walls, much as their parents did. While the population of 15,000 makes the town the largest in the county, there is no movie theater, mall or McDonald's to hang out at.



And yet half a mile up the road on the outskirts of town sits one of the most sophisticated manufacturing facilities in the world. The Intel Ireland campus, built on a 371-acre plot of land that was once a horse farm, has been in operation since 1993, approximately the year that the Irish economy turned into the famed "Celtic Tiger." Since then, Intel has invested some \$7 billion, and the facility has produced more than a billion microchips. The factory has 5,500 people on the payroll, making it the largest private employer in Ireland. Instead of being a bedroom community for Dublin, a mere 11 miles to the east, Leixlip has a good number of Intel workers who live in Dublin and commute here. Earlier this year, the plant began making Intel's most important product offering since the Pentium chip, using 65-nanometer manufacturing processing and allowing for yet more data to be stored on yet tinier pieces of silicon.

The Leixlip factory is by far the largest in Europe—remarkable, given that the entire population of Ireland, just over 4 million, is



The Leixlip campus is Intel's largest manufacturing facility in Europe

about half the size of London's, or just a little bigger than Berlin's. Intel itself can hardly fathom the success. "Could we have ever forecast such phenomenal growth?" asks Trevor Holmes, Intel Ireland's head of government and public affairs. "I don't think so."

The growth of Intel inside Ireland echoes the explosion of Ireland's economy as a whole. In the 12 years up to 1993, the economy expanded a cumulative 60%, or the equivalent of 2.4% annually. In the 10 years after 1993, the economy grew a cumulative 96%, the equivalent of a whopping 7% a year. European Union subsidies and foreign investors—including Bristol-Myers Squibb, Dell, HP, Microsoft, eBay and SAP—have provided much of the momentum, but the Irish have benefited enormously. As recently as 1985, nearly 1 Irish worker in 5 was out of work; today unemployment stands at 4%, by most definitions full employment. Ireland boasts the highest per capita gross domestic product (GDP) in the E.U.: nearly \$38,000.

Such numbers are staggering to those who remember the recent past, the brain-drain era of the '70s and '80s, when anyone with talent fled Ireland as quickly as possible. Today the streets of Dublin are clogged with tourists and well-to-do locals, who flock to shopping meccas like Henry Street or, on the edge of the capi-



▼ "Could we have ever forecast such phenomenal growth?" asks Intel's Holmes



From 1994 to 2003, Ireland's economy soared 7% a year



tal, the Liffey Valley Shopping Centre, a 90-store mall. The brain drain has reversed into a brain gain; many Irish emigrants to the U.S. are returning, and so many Poles have moved here that it's common to hear Polish spoken in the local pub (see sidebar).

Just how long can the Celtic Tiger roar? And what can be done to sustain the growth? Those are the kinds of questions that keep economic-development officials from Singapore to India to the Czech Republic awake at night. In July, Davy, a brokerage affiliated with the Bank of Ireland, predicted that economic growth will begin slowing in 2008. The well-respected Economic and Social Research Institute reached a nearly identical conclusion.

The rationale for a slowdown is straightforward and persuasive: Ireland's housing boom, which has played an outsized role in the overall economic saga,

► Down the road from Intel, eBay, another U.S. employer, has its Irish offices



cannot be sustained. The Davy report notes that more than 20 houses per 1,000 people will be built in 2006—four times the European average. "We can't go on building houses the way we do," insists John McGinley, a member of Kildare County Council, which includes Leixlip. Moreover, a government-backed savings-incentive plan, largely believed to have stimulated consumer demand, is due to expire next year.

▲ Some 5,500 people work for Intel, making it the largest private employer in Ireland

Behind any statistical argument lurks a fear that a sustained period of growth like the one Ireland has enjoyed is a freak of economic nature. Skeptics maintain that the Celtic Tiger is suffering from a "Dutch disease"—that is, a temporary spurt comparable to Holland's discovery of offshore natural gas resources in the 1960s, which created a boom that diverted other economic activity—and then dried up. "Ireland's oil find was foreign direct investment in the



◀ A building boom has helped fuel Ireland's economy, and experts fear a coming cool-down could slow growth

passed (just shy of a 5-to-1 ratio)—but it was arguably the best economic decision Ireland made in the 20th century. Joining the E.U. paved the way for economic integration with Europe and the adoption of the euro in 2002. Membership led to a massive infusion of E.U. cash as well—\$3 billion in farm subsidies alone last year. Conversion to the continental currency also helped bring down interest rates, which had reached upwards of 17% in the early 1980s, in part by removing revaluation as a monetary tool.

Second, under Prime Minister Seán Lemass, the protectionist Irish government began opening itself up. Even so, as late as 1979, David McWilliams notes in his lively book *The Pope's Children: Ireland's New Elite*, kids on the country's east coast could not buy iconic brands of candy (like Opal Fruits) that they saw advertised on English TV—not because the

In 1993 an existing house cost \$83,000. Today it costs \$471,000

late 1980s," says Danny McCoy, chief economist of the Irish Business and Employers Confederation. Others, however, believe that the tiger can stay on the prowl. "It's unduly pessimistic to project declining growth in the medium term," argues Dermot O'Brien, head of economic research at NCB Stockbrokers. He believes that native demographic growth and immigration will drive enough demand to keep the economy booming at least until 2020.

Who's right? The answer may depend on understanding how Ireland's unprecedented recovery was born. There's no single explanation; rather, government policies combined with natural strengths. One policy choice made a huge difference: In 1973, under the leadership of Prime Minister Jack Lynch, Ireland joined the European Economic Community (which later became part of the European Union). The choice was relatively uncontroversial at the time—a referendum

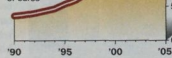
sweets were bad for their teeth but because the government was determined to prop up domestic confectioners. Gradually, import restrictions were lifted, corporate tax rates were lowered—from 50% in the 1980s to 12.5% in 2003—and the government began to pursue outside investment in earnest.

From a U.S. multinational's point of view, these policies augmented other attractive qualities. At the time, U.S. firms believed that doing business in Fortress Europe was going to require a physical presence there. Relatively high wages and plentiful red tape made France and West Germany unappealing. By contrast, Ireland's English-speaking workforce, surfeit of engineers and relatively low wage costs were a magnet. Still, "it took quite a bit to persuade Intel that Ireland could do it," recalls Sean Dorgan, chief executive of Ireland's Industrial Development Agency. "Part of that persuasion was showing them how many Irish electronics engineers were in places like Eindhoven and Munich with Philips and Siemens."

No, It's Not Luck Ireland has ridden to riches on the basis of sound economic policy and a top-shelf workforce

Irish GDP at current market prices

In billions of euros



Sources: Irish Department of Finance, CIA Factbook

AVERAGE SALARY
\$41,000
GDP per capita, 2005

AVERAGE HOME PRICE
\$471,000

AVERAGE TAX RATE
31.7%
Tax revenue as % of GDP, 2004



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► Dundrum Town Centre, the biggest shopping complex in all of Europe, opened in Dublin last year

That argument, lubricated by tax incentives worth millions, persuaded Intel, along with other tech firms, to choose Ireland. The Celtic Tiger was born. And it wasn't just computer- and Internet-related companies but a whole range of firms that needed a skilled workforce. Most of them were from outside (such as Procter & Gamble and Georgia Pacific), but there have been homegrown flyers as well, like Elan Pharmaceuticals, a biotech and drug company based in Dublin.

The ferocious expansion of the economy allowed Ireland to gloss over some of its weaknesses, like a very patchy infrastructure. Nearly every aspect of Irish life has been affected: more cars, more tourists, better restaurants, fancier homes. "We are richer than any of us imagined possible 10 years ago," says McWilliams. While many Continental European countries struggle to juice their economies, Ireland keeps racking up wins—and jobs. Last fall the pharmaceutical giant Wyeth officially opened a 1.2 million-sq.-ft. biotech manufacturing facility in South County Dublin. The plant,



◀ Good jobs—and good living—have attracted talented Irish workers back home from far points of the globe

Any economic hiccup could force consumers to stop spending



▲ Transportation systems like the Luas light rail line give multinational employers access to many Irish workers

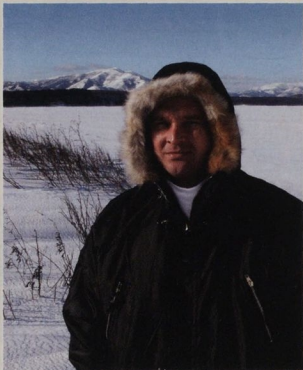
known as Grange Castle, represents a \$1.5 billion investment and will employ 1,000 people.

Such continuing successes have not prevented a chorus of doubters from warning that the good times will end. Troubling signs are easy to find. There's no way that foreign direct investment (FDI) was ever going to maintain the rocket-fueled pace of the 1990s. In recent years, U.S. Treasury

and tax officials have been trying to rein in corporate cost-sharing plans that allow multinationals to transfer revenues on intellectual-property assets—such as software licenses—to low-tax countries like Ireland. Moreover, new E.U. countries like Poland and the Czech Republic are winning the eye of foreign investors. As a result of these factors, plus the continuing strength of the euro, FDI in Ireland peaked in 2002 and has declined since.

The housing market has been dangerously overheated. An existing house in Ireland in 1993 cost, on average, just over \$83,000. In 2006 that figure has skyrocketed to \$471,000. As far back as 2000, the International Monetary Fund was warning that there

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was no precedent for such growth without a serious crash. Not surprisingly, real estate inflation also means a huge accumulation of red ink; household debt as a proportion of disposable income in Ireland has risen in the past five years to a dangerous 140%. The implications are obvious, and familiar: any economic hiccup could force consumers to stop spending.

That's one of the main reasons the Davy report believes that the Celtic Tiger will take a catnap. Davy's most optimistic scenario predicts growth will slow to 3.25% annually in 2009 and 2010—still quite good by European standards—but its pessimistic scenario predicts a 5% annual drop in housing prices and GDP growth of just 1%. Bulls like O'Brien argue that population growth alone should be enough to keep the expansion on track. His report predicts that, thanks to Ireland's late baby boom and open immigration policy, the country will reach 5 million citizens by 2015 and 6 million by

2050. "That demand will continue to be a major driver," he insists.

Can the government do anything to keep the party going? It's planning to plow more money into research and development—and give more tax credits to companies that do the same—while focusing on innovative sectors like nanotechnology and regenerative medicine. "We want new products, new services, new ways of doing things emanating from this research," says Micheál Martin, Ireland's Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment. Moreover, even U.S. firms that have helped Ireland blossom recognize that Ireland needs to create more of its own global companies, along the lines of the Kerry Group, a Tralee-based food-ingredients company that enjoyed \$5.6 billion in revenues in 2005.

In the meantime, though, people in Leixlip and the rest of the country seem thankful that they have got Intel inside—and hope that their house values hold up. —With reporting by Brian Lavery/Dublin

Poles, including these soccer fans, have taken their culture to Ireland with them



RAY COLLIER—IRISH INDEPENDENT

When Anna Pas graduated from college last year, she figured her employment options were limited. "There weren't that many offers for someone in Poland with a philosophy degree," she explains. So Pas moved to Ireland and within a few months found herself launching, editing and co-owning *Polski Express*, a Polish-language fortnightly glossy magazine published in Ireland. It has been a whirlwind year. "I can't imagine this would be happening in Poland," gushes Pas, 25.

A lot of her compatriots feel the same way. While Poles have immigrated mainly to several European spots since the

country joined the E.U. in 2004, nowhere have they been more prominent than in Ireland. According to Irish officials, more than 150,000 Poles have flocked there in just two years. They now make up the country's largest nonnative population and at least 5% of the workforce. Many go for low-skill jobs in pubs or retail shops, but others arrive with skills in fields like construction and plumbing, which are crucial to feeding the country's appetite for houses and offices.

Publishers are exploiting that natural market. The weekly *Polska Gazeta* began publishing in 2005. This year the *Evening Herald*, one of

Ireland's oldest newspapers, began publishing on Fridays an eight-page pullout supplement called *Polski Herald*. In July, Pas and her partners launched a tabloid, *Zycie w Irlandii*.

For Ireland's information-hungry immigrants, the publications serve a vital need, with advice on applying for government benefits, employment law and finances. Readership is not huge; *Polska Gazeta* claims 7,000, and *Polski Express* gives away its 5,000 copies in places like supermarkets and Polish pubs. But Pas is proud of some of her paper's scoops, including an expose on the exaggeration of figures

Enter the Polish

Jobs have lured so many Poles to Ireland, they're now the isle's largest group of nonnatives

for Dublin's homeless Polish population by some authorities and media. "Our readers want to know about what is going on in the Polish community here," says Pas. "The Irish papers are all about who was killed where and when and details from celebrities' lives."

There's no shortage of advertisers trying to reach the Polish market. Banks, mobile-phone providers and companies like Western Union all seem to grasp the appeal of immigrant readers, many of whom are upwardly mobile and ready to show it with their wallets. —J.L.



Publishers are capitalizing on demographics by rolling out Polish-language newspapers like these in Dublin

Q&A Sir Anthony O'Reilly

He boomed long before Ireland. Why the former Heinz CEO is still focused on premium brands

THE KETCHUP COMPANY WAS TOP-SHELF WHEN HE LEFT IN 1998 and headed home. Now, while the world invests in microchips, wireless and broadband, Anthony O'Reilly, 70, has created Ireland's biggest fortune from sand (Waterford Wedgwood), landline phones (Eircom) and print (Independent News & Media). He spoke with TIME's **BILL SAVORITO** about what drives his counterintuitive choices.

You run Independent News & Media, which has interests in newspapers in Ireland, England, India and Africa. Isn't print dead?

In a time-starved world, a brilliant newspaper is a very cheap way to make money. If it's luminous, it's well put together, it's organized, you can, in half an hour, get from that what you would spend six hours from the Internet doing. The newspaper industry is growing, quite slowly, but it is growing.

But how can newspapers hold off the Internet onslaught?

If you look at it, you'll find that a great deal of the Internet growth has come through up-selling by newspapers of a wide range of their product. That's why they're equipped to go after the three major areas in which they are under threat: cars, houses and jobs. Look up PropertyNews.com, which is the largest property site here, with 11 billion

hits per month, more than the BBC—the biggest thing right now in Ireland. It's got 20,000 properties on it. It's the most advanced site of its type, and we bought it yesterday. So we are pursuing the parallel path because we know the region.

So what drives your selection?

We are location indifferent, we are language indifferent, and we are platform indifferent. It's markets that matter. We are going to be threatened by the advent of broadband. In South Africa, it will be five, 10 years before they have urban broadband, and so one of our really amazing growth products in South Africa is our Zulu paper, which had a 25,000 circulation last year, up to 105,000 this year.

Speaking of dead, you bought Eircom, Ireland's landline business, with George Soros.

It's not dead because you still need it for broadband, but it's dead so far as a growth vehicle for voice is concerned. And you know, it would be a 3% to 4% gradual decline, and you can do everything with your mobile, can't you? You're going to shave with your mobile next. Soros and I made quite a bit of money, so we can't complain. My job is to get them back into mobile.

You bought great Irish brands in Waterford Wedgwood, but it's been a dodgy business. Is there any hope?

In 2000, it made \$125 million of operating income, and it has been in loss ever since. Why? Globalization. This is the biggest tabletop company in the world. We've got fantastic brands. Just to humor you, we've got No. 1 Waterford, No. 2 Wedgwood, No. 3 Royal Doulton; the subbrands, you've got Versace and Bulgari and Jasper Conran and Emeril Lagasse. And we have just signed up with Robert Mondavi, so we will have a completely different type of Waterford. Waterford Wedgwood will be a very profitable business in eight to 12 months.

It's sort of a strange combination to be in tabletops and newsprint. What is the common denominator? That's the question.

There is enormous loyalty to regional brands in the newspaper business; there is enormous loyalty to brands in the tabletop business. Brands protect you from becoming a commodity. So avoid commoditization at all costs. And that is the common thread to all of those.

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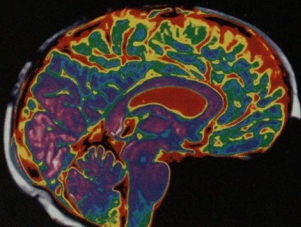
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A salesman at a Lenovo computer store in Beijing awaits customers

Lenovo's Global Gambit

The Chinese PC maker owns its local market. Now it just needs a little outside recognition

BY MICHAEL SCHUMAN BEIJING

GEORGE HE HASN'T GOT ACCUSTOMED TO WORKING WITH Americans. The chief technology officer of PC maker Lenovo has had to deal with a lot of them since the Chinese company acquired the computer-manufacturing business of U.S. giant IBM last year. On his monthly jaunts to Lenovo's new global headquarters in Raleigh, N.C., He, 43, complains there "aren't so many good Chinese restaurants." But he finds the cocktail parties that precede business dinners even harder to endure.

"We stand there and talk to each other," He says in disbelief. "That's just not our style, the Chinese people." He struggles through the chitchat about wine, college sports and other subjects he finds completely foreign. "Duke? North Carolina? I don't know what it is!" he says, throwing up his hands in frustration.

Catching up on college rivalries is the least of the challenges facing Lenovo's managers. Once little known outside China, Lenovo catapulted to No. 3 in the world PC market (after Dell and Hewlett-Packard)

with its \$1.75 billion IBM purchase. The acquisition, the most high-profile overseas grab by a Chinese firm, horrified many Americans, who saw a rising China set to gobble up flagship industries in the U.S. After all, IBM virtually invented the PC 25 years ago.

Yet there were sound reasons why Big Blue disgorged that trademark business—not least of which being that it was a lousy one. With its market share in retreat, the unit had lost nearly \$1 billion in 3½ years. Much



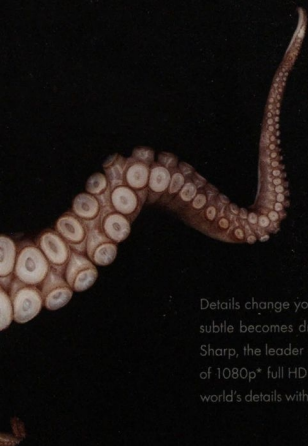
of IBM's sales were in a slow-moving segment of the PC market—large shipments to major companies—and IBM hadn't fully tapped the more robust small-business and consumer markets. As a result, Lenovo's PC shipments have grown more slowly than the industry average for four of the past five quarters. That lopsided business, says William Amelio, Lenovo's CEO,

makes him "feel like I'm hopping on one leg."

Amelio, 48, has a plan to plant Lenovo firmly on two feet. The former head of Dell's Asian operations, Amelio took the helm last December, and is launching an ambitious gambit to seize international

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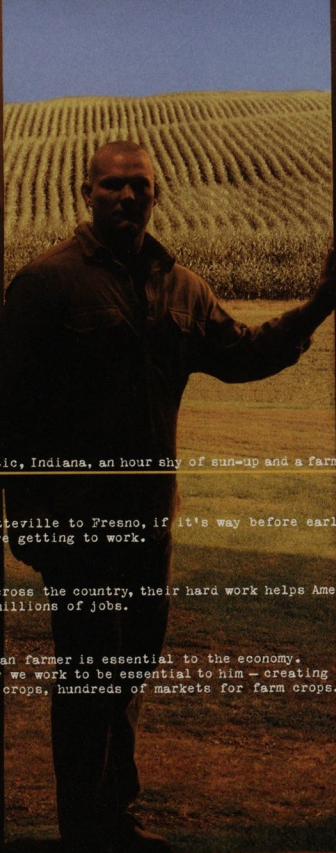


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A man, presumably a farmer, stands in a field of tall, golden-brown grain, possibly corn. He is wearing a dark jacket and pants. His right arm is extended towards the field. The background shows a vast field under a clear sky.

Oolitic, Indiana, an hour shy of sun-up and a farmer is getting to work.



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from farm crops, hundreds of markets for farm crops.



► Mexican students visit the PC maker's Innovation Center in Beijing. Lenovo sees developing markets

market share by expanding into every nook of the PC industry. Lenovo is introducing new products, building a complex global-distribution network and splurging on a brand-building campaign. The strategy could turn Lenovo into a far fiercer rival for Dell and HP than stately IBM was, and threatens to intensify the cutthroat competition that is a hallmark of the famously bloodthirsty PC business. "I eat, drink, sleep PCs," promises Amelio. "There is nothing else in my world."

HP and Dell are in his world, and they have well-established sales networks, a full range of products and famous brand names, especially in the U.S. "We joke, 'Lenovo who?' The challenge is that Lenovo doesn't have a brand name in the U.S.," says Samir Bhavnani, director of research at tech-

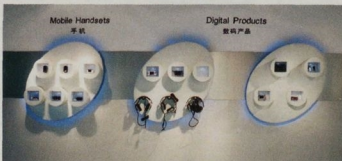


Lenovo catapulted to No. 3 in the world market when it bought IBM's PC unit

information provider Current Analysis in San Diego. Even worse, Lenovo is being buffeted by the sometimes tense relations between the West and China. In May the U.S. State Department said 16,000 PCs it had

purchased from Lenovo wouldn't be used for classified work after a Congressman claimed that the Chinese-made computers would threaten national security. Lenovo's chairman, Yang Yuanqing, insists his computers pose no security risk.

The acquisition created a radically altered and geographically scattered management team. Amelio is based in Raleigh with former IBMers; Yang and his team are in China with most of the manufacturing operations. Executives complain of midnight conference calls and perpetual jet lag. "Lenovo is really living in a flat world," says Amelio. Meshing Chinese and American corporate cultures hasn't been easy either. The Chinese are stressed by having to speak English, the company's official language, made harder by rapid-fire talkers like Amelio. "We have to ask him several times to



slow down," says He. "He just doesn't stop."

IBM did bring Amelio two great assets: top talent and a top brand name.

Former IBMers say they feel liberated after years of being marginalized as the red ink of Big Blue. "It was more fighting for survival at IBM," says Fran O'Sullivan, now a senior vice president at Lenovo. "We didn't talk about growing." After the acquisition, "there was a real entrepreneurial feel again." There were other benefits too: Lenovo got the rights to use the IBM brand name for five years and snatched the premier Think family of computers. ThinkPad notebooks boast

◀ Futuristic displays aside, Lenovo's computers are known for big bang per little buck

some of the best technology in the business, such as sensors that protect the hard drive if the notebook is dropped.

Lenovo is almost as entrenched in China as the Great Wall, with more than 9,000 retail stores and other sales outlets, giving it an indisputable advantage over its competition in the world's fastest-growing economy.

Lenovo owns 35% of the market, according to tech consulting firm IDC. (Dell, the largest foreign player, is No. 3, with 10%.) Chinese consider Lenovo one of the country's most trustworthy brands and a symbol of Chinese entrepreneurship.

Lenovo was founded in Beijing in 1984 by 11 free-thinking researchers with \$25,000 from a science academy. It markets PCs for every possible customer, from the top-of-the-line Pentium speedster to \$300 bare-bones desktops. The growth poten-



Lenovo poached its CEO Bill Amelio, an American, from competitor Dell



◀ A worker at the Shenzhen assembly line finishes up a ThinkPad—a brand inherited from IBM

tial for Lenovo in its home market appears limitless. IDC forecasts that PC sales in China will jump 57% from 2006 to 2010, to 36 million units. The U.S. market will reach 68 million units in 2006.

Amelio wants to replicate Lenovo's China business model around the world. Execs have jetted to cities from Paris to Bangalore to teach local managers how things are done in China. The goal: penetrate markets by building close ties to both major resellers and mom-and-pop computer centers to target fast-growing small businesses. Then, back up the sales effort with highly efficient and flexible product-supply systems developed in China. "We have a model that works," says Amelio. "We have to get it rolling everywhere."

The company has already used Chinese know-how to score impressive results in that other great Asian emerging market, India. After being trained in Beijing, Lenovo's India managers increased the number of resellers nearly 40%, to 1,100 so far this year. Chinese-designed PCs were introduced to expand the product line and Bollywood stars hired to pump up the brand. India is also introducing Lenovo's SMS information system, by which distributors send daily sales reports. That allows managers to quickly adjust prices and product mix based on real-time data. Results? Lenovo's India sales jumped 44% in the second quarter of 2006 from the year before, according to IDC. "There was a fundamental shift when we worked with the Chinese team," says Neeraj Sharma, general manager of South Asia for Lenovo. Such

Lenovo needs to win market share beyond China to boost profits



▲ Lenovo customer-service engineers assist befuddled buyers at a call center in Beijing

gains might be harder to come by in mature markets like the U.S. and Europe. But over the past year, Lenovo has got space at major chains Office Depot and Best Buy.

Amelio is also employing a tactic used by other Asian upstarts, like Korean carmaker Hyundai Motor—value for money. Lenovo is packing its products with goodies and charging less than other PC brands, especially in a new series of computers called Lenovo 3000. Launched in February, the 3000s are an amalgam of Lenovo and IBM

design and technology. The desktops are based on a Chinese product that features a one-button fix-it process to restore virus-damaged systems. They also feature ThinkPad-quality keyboards—all at a very reasonable \$349. In comparison with other major brands, Lenovo notebooks ranked at the top for value, according to Current Analysis.

The biggest obstacle for Lenovo's U.S. business is an inefficient supply chain. Order a computer from Dell in the U.S., and it usually arrives within 10 days. Order from Lenovo and it could come as quickly. Or you could go on vacation for a couple of weeks, and it may or may not be there when you return. "Outside of China, our supply chain is not world class," Amelio admits. To help fix the problem, he poached Dell's Gerry Smith to run supply-chain management—a Dell specialty.

Another problem: Lenovo doesn't have the financial muscle it needs to wage war with HP and Dell. In its past quarter, Lenovo earned only a \$5 million net on revenues of \$3.5 billion (after restructuring charges). Amelio has already cut 5% of the workforce and plans to slice \$350 million from Lenovo's costs by early 2008, in part by consolidating operations, such as centralizing the global desktop team in China. The cost cuts "may be what I need to stay aggressive on pricing and not destroy my margins," he says.

Lenovo must win market share beyond China to boost profitability. It has only 7.7% of the global market, to Dell's 19.1%. The PC market is slowing too. IDC predicts that global PC-sales growth will dip to 10.8% this year, from 16% in 2005. Lenovo "will be treading water until the market goes into a growth mode," says Richard Shim, senior analyst at IDC.

Still, there may be opportunity. Dell is wounded, reeling from plummeting profits and a major laptop recall. Amelio's aggressive plan might be what Lenovo needs to become a global PC heavyweight. "Amelio is doing exactly what needs to be done," says Joseph Ho, an analyst at Daiwa Institute of Research in Hong Kong. And if Lenovo gets some breathing room, maybe He, the chief technology officer, can focus on learning how to tell a Tar Heel from a Blue Devil. ■



Image of W.B. Yeats, poet and Nobel Prize winner,
by Louis le Brocqy.


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What Makes Us Buy?

A fast-growing industry called neuromarketing uses science to help marketers understand how we respond to products

BY THOMAS K. GROSE

ON A RECENT WEDNESDAY NIGHT, ELEANOR PHIPP SPENT AN HOUR watching commercial television. Nothing unusual about that—except that Phipp, 30, was in a dark room at a South London medical center, lying inside a loudly whirring functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scanner that mapped her brain as video images flickered before her eyes. Brain scanners, which use radio waves and a powerful magnetic field

to trace oxygenated blood to areas of neural activity, are used mainly to study or diagnose brain diseases. But Phipp's brain was being scrutinized by researchers to see how it reacted to the TV pictures—specifically, whether she responded to ads

differently at night than in the morning.

The study is being run by Neurosense, a consulting firm based in Oxford, England, and a leader in the fast-growing industry called neuromarketing. Neuromarketing uses neuroscience—particularly fMRI scan-

ners—to better understand how our brain reacts to advertising, brands and products, reactions that for the most part occur subconsciously. The burgeoning ability to understand how the brain processes images and messages and reaches decisions potentially gives marketers a new tool to fine-tune ads and marketing campaigns, bolster and

extend brands and design better products. "It can give valuable information that's not particularly easy to access by other techniques," says Michael Brammer, Neurosense's chairman and co-founder. "It's no surprise that some of these bits of information are interesting commercially."

Interesting? How about holy grail? Companies as diverse as Unilever and DaimlerChrysler have used neuromarketing. Viacom Brand Solutions, the commercial arm of MTV Networks, for instance, had Neurosense study how viewers digest programming and ads. It looked at nine regions of the brain that control such functions as attraction, long- and short-term memory and understanding. A counterintuitive result: commercials generated more activity in eight of those nine cortical regions than the programs did, indicating that ads register.

But programming dominated the ninth area, which controls absorption. Indeed, viewers were so absorbed by the programs that the other areas were nearly dormant. More predictably, the study also found that ads work best when their content is in harmony with the programs they interrupt. An ad for the alcopop WKD, for instance, registered more viewer interest than a Red Cross appeal when both appeared during a *South Park* clip. Another Neurosense study, for PHD Media, a media-buying agency, looked at which areas of the brain are most receptive to different media—TV, print and radio. PHD used the results to develop software it calls Neuroplanning, which better matches ads to media.

Those kinds of options have produced a

boom across Europe in neuromarketing consultants, including Neuroconsult, which hung out its shingle in Vienna earlier this year and is run by Peter Walla, a neurobiologist who teaches at Vienna University and two other schools. German researcher Peter Kenning says when he did a Google Internet search on the term neuromarketing five years ago, he turned up a couple of hits. Today a similar search yields more than 200,000. fMRI technology emerged only

often in conjunction with fMRIS. Magnetoencephalography (MEG), a technology that can read electrical signals pulsating from brain cells, is popular because it detects how quickly the brain reacts to stimuli. But unlike fMRI scans, MEG can't identify which parts of the brain are reacting. And that's important, since researchers say it's the interplay between the deeper, older, primitive brain, where our emotions reside, and the more logical neocortex, which informs

ogies has alarmed some consumer groups, mainly in the U.S., which fear that it could lead to the discovery of an inner buy button, which, when pressed, would turn us into roboshoppers. Gary Ruskin, executive director of Commercial Alert, an advertising watchdog group, says if neuromarketing boosts advertising's effectiveness even marginally, that's potentially dangerous. "We already have an epidemic of marketing-related diseases," ranging from obesity to Type 2 dia-

Unilever, DaimlerChrysler and MTV studied consumers' brains during ads



about 15 years ago. Efforts to combine it with marketing began in the late 1990s. (Neuroscience was launched in 1997.) The appellation neuromarketing popped up several years later, possibly coined by Ale Smidts, a marketing professor at Erasmus University in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. It's essentially a subgenre of another emerging discipline, neuroeconomics. "Neuromarketing is seen as more negative," Smidts says, because of marketing's commercial connotations.

The field got a high-profile, scholarly boost two years ago when a study by Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, Texas, published in the academic journal *Neuro*, used fMRI technology to determine that cola drinkers subconsciously have warmer feelings for the Coca-Cola brand, and that gives Coke an edge over Pepsi, even though Pepsi performs as well as Coke in blind taste tests.

Brain scanning is the field's dominant technology, but others are used as well,

our decision making. And because the dance between the old- and new-brain areas occurs in the subconscious, that's information focus groups or polls can never determine.

Are there limits to neuromarketing's reach? fMRI studies are expensive. Brammer says a medium-size study could cost from \$94,000 to \$188,000. Less expensive options can answer some marketing questions, though. For Unilever, Walla recently used a startle-reflex method that measures muscle control of eye blinks to determine that eating ice cream makes people happier than eating yogurt or chocolate. Another drawback of scanners: lying in one is hardly a natural environment for watching TV or spotting brands. But new versions that let subjects sit up under contraptions that resemble salon hair dryers should increase the comfort factor.

Marketers' use of neuroscience technol-

bates to pathological gambling," he says. An even more intrusive technology may be looming. Cambridge University computer scientist Peter Robinson led a team of people, including colleagues at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, that developed software enabling computers to read minds. A video camera focuses on 24 facial features from which the software can often decipher a person's mental state, including comprehension, boredom and excitement. Robinson says the program could be used to find the right moment to sell someone a product online.

Walla rejects the idea of a buy button as "science fiction," and most researchers say the technology allows them only to observe how brains work, not to control them. Says Brammer: "I have got a lot of respect for the power of the human spirit to resist being manipulated." As proof, Smidts says, "a lot of advertising doesn't work. It's hard to persuade and influence people."

There's no shortage of academic debate over the merging of neuroscience and marketing. The journal *Nature Neuroscience*, under the headline **BRAIN SCAM?**, editorialized that too many practitioners' claims remain unpublished in peer-reviewed journals. But the dearth of published results is largely the result of businesses' wanting to keep their findings secret. Brammer admits that the data deficit leads to "some scientists interpreting what we're doing skeptically."

Can the marketplace be as effective an arbiter of quality scholarship as refereed journals? Perhaps. Deliver too many bad findings based on sloppy science, and you won't remain in business for long. Since Neurosense's revenues are up threefold in the past year, you don't need a brain scanner to see that neuromarketers will be attracting business for some time to come. ■

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A New Hedge For Your House

Real estate market got you worried? Home-price derivatives promise to help lessen the risk of investing

BY BARBARA KIVIAT

IF ALL THE JABBERING ABOUT A WEAKENING HOUSING MARKET HAS made you glum at the prospect of your own home's losing value, then has the Chicago Mercantile Exchange got a portfolio addition for you. Since May, investors have been able to buy and trade options and futures contracts pegged to home prices in 10 U.S. cities, giving property owners a way to hedge against a bear market—and letting speculators place bets on the direction of house prices in San Francisco, New York City, Chicago, Las Vegas and elsewhere.

Think of a guy who is anxious that his ha-

cienda in Miami might be caught in a bubble but doesn't want to cash out and move. If he buys a put option on the Miami housing-price index and the value of homes in Miami (including his) slides, the money he makes

on the derivative offsets his loss. A put option is the right, but not the obligation, to sell a security at a set price. A futures contract is an agreement to buy or sell something at a future date. Both are derivatives because they derive their value from an un-



Focus

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derlying asset, in this case, real estate. If that sounds complicated, well, it is. The notional value of the futures contract is about \$50,000 and is bought on margin with just a few percent down, which means you can get badly burned. Since the May debut, developers and hedge funds are among the big buyers.

If the market for housing futures gets large enough, though, other sorts of financial products more useful to homeowners should crop up, says Robert Shiller, a Yale University economist who has been pushing

the idea for 15 years. The grander vision, developed with Karl Case of Wellesley College, includes home-equity insurance. The idea is that companies will write those policies if there's a robust futures market for hedging risk. "Real estate is bigger than the stock market," says Shiller. Twenty trillion dollars big, in fact.

There have, however, been a couple of notable nonstarters. The London Futures and Options Exchange halted its property futures in 1991 four months into trading, after a scandal erupted over dummy trades. In 1993 the Chicago Board of Trade, with help from Shiller and Case, readied its own foray but then pulled the plug prelaunch. The nature of houses is an impediment, says Craig Pirrong, professor of finance at the University of Houston, because speculators crave volatility and home prices change slowly—and even within one city, there can be vast differences in values.

Trading volume at the Chicago Merc has been thin so far, with interest in Miami, New

York City and Los Angeles far eclipsing Denver, Chicago and Boston. But a slow start is often the case with derivatives. Shiller, who helped design the housing-price indexes the Merc contracts are based on, points to S&P 500 futures, which were halfheartedly received in 1982 but today are a Merc staple. For housing futures, the exchange is already looking to add more cities and contracts past 2007; homebuilders who want to hedge new subdivisions have requested the longer horizon. The Chicago Board Options Exchange is considering housing derivatives too.

In the meantime, the contracts provide a window onto the state of residential real estate. Based on going trades, the market predicts a 5% to 8% drop in housing prices over the next year in each of the 10 cities. Don't put too much stock in those specific numbers (a market like this, with so few participants, doesn't necessarily yield an accurate forecast), but the sentiment is, nonetheless, unmistakably downbeat.

Investors trade futures and options contracts pegged to home prices



People to Watch In International Business

(world
beaters)



Donna DeBerry

RUNNING UP DIVERSITY

To Donna DeBerry, teamwork is integral to sports—a topic she'll have to know a lot about as Nike's newest exec—but equally important is cultivating self-worth. "On a playing field, in an office environment, it must also be about developing unique personal character," DeBerry, 51, says. It's a trait she had instilled in her early on as her father's Air Force career took her family to many postings—a global upbringing that DeBerry sees as her key qualification for becoming Nike's first vice president for diversity. A former Wyndham International executive, she will

also bring along the experience of being one of the first African Americans in the hotel industry's top ranks. What made Nike, a company known for its inclusive attitude toward customers and employees alike, decide to beef up diversity now? As DeBerry puts it, "Now we'll just do it better."

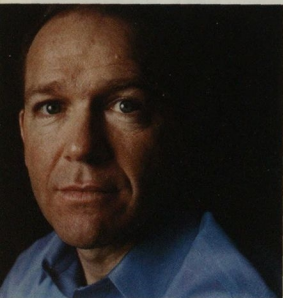
BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY

David Calhoun

GOING PRIVATE

Public companies, beware: private-equity firms are trolling for your top managers. General Electric became the latest prey in August, when VNU Media, a Dutch market-research firm, poached 27-year GE veteran David Calhoun for its top job. As takeovers become larger, private-equity firms increasingly value strong management, and Calhoun, 49, joins a growing line of execs defecting from their listed companies. They're lured away by private equity's promise of less scrutiny and big financial reward. Calhoun's new pay is rumored at around \$100 million. It's a price tag for which VNU's owners—a

group of private-equity firms, including Kohlberg Kravis Roberts, that acquired the company for \$9.8 billion in July—will expect big results, and Calhoun, who headed GE's \$47 billion infrastructure unit, is unlikely to disappoint. At VNU, he's charged with turning around its Nielsen television-ratings system as well as the *Hollywood Reporter* and *Billboard* magazine. Nothing a little Six Sigma can't fix.



STEVE PYKE



Kathleen Taylor

CHECKING IN AROUND THE GLOBE

Ask Kathleen Taylor where she wants to travel next, and she has a laundry list ready: South Africa, Russia, Australia. Maybe it's the complimentary stays in the lap of luxury Taylor is guaranteed as the

Four Seasons' new head of global business and hotel operations—a perk that should explain an average tenure of 17 years among company managers. But more likely, it's the sense of wonderment at the world that Taylor, 49, brings to her job. Describing new hotels in China, India and Italy, she gushes. Explaining why Four Seasons still builds new properties in the volatile Middle East, she exudes hope.

"I never get sick of visiting new places," says Taylor, who joined Four Seasons in 1989.

Since she's overseeing 70 hotels in 31 countries and another 25 in development, that's a good attitude to have.



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SEEDS OF HOPE

What do you need to create a green revolution in Africa? Women and fertilizer

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

WALK THROUGH COUNTLESS small villages in sub-Saharan Africa, and you will find the same scene repeated again and again: women bent over double, hoeing scrawny plants in dirt packed so hard it's tough to imagine anything ever growing in it. Hundreds of billions of dollars have been spent over the past half-century trying to do something about the region's crushing poverty, but the situation remains desperate. Rural Africa is hollowing out, unable to feed itself, let alone supply food to the continent's rapidly growing megacities.

In this context, the Gates and Rockefeller foundations announced last week their plan to spend \$150 million over the next five years to boost agricultural productivity on the continent. The initial investments will go to developing hardy seed varieties of regionally appropriate crops, creating markets for the distribution of those seeds and educating a new generation of African plant scientists. It's a back-to-basics approach that avoids gambling on shortcuts. But to be successful the new initiative—dubbed the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa—will very soon have to address two equally pressing issues: the need for widespread use of chemical fertilizers to replenish exhausted soil and some sort of system to ensure greater participation of women—who perform the bulk of the work on African farms.

Action is urgently needed. More than 80% of African soil is seriously degraded, and in many areas it is on the verge of permanent failure. For centuries, farmers survived by clearing new land for each season's plantings and allowing old fields to lie fallow and replenish their nutrients. But the continent's fourfold increase in population since the



A WEALTH OF CHOICES

West African scientists crossed Asian and African plants to create several varieties of NERICA rice. Farmers pick the ones that work best in their fields

1950s has forced farmers to grow crop after crop on the same fields, draining them of all nourishment. Do that for a long enough time, and the physical nature of the soil changes. It becomes so tightly compacted that it can't hold water or let roots spread. "Eventually you get to the point where even

weeds won't grow," says Gary Toennissen, director of food security at the Rockefeller Foundation. "Just adding fertilizer back doesn't help. You actually have to replace the soil." The loss of productive land has driven farmers to clear ever more marginal areas, including forests and hillsides, for agriculture.

Fertilizer has a bad reputation among environmentalists in the West because pollution from runoff can be such a problem. But replenishing Africa's soil before



JONAS BRENNEN—THE ROCKEFELLER CENTER

it's too late—and thus decreasing the amount of land that has to be dedicated to agriculture—is probably one of the most practical ways of protecting wildlife habitats and reducing erosion. And new micro-dosing techniques, in which a capful of fertilizer is applied to the roots of a plant, minimize the flow of chemicals into rivers and streams.

Many African countries that used to subsidize fertilizers stopped under pressure from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, forcing farmers to return to subsistence practices. Today farmers in sub-Saharan Africa use about 7 lbs. of fertilizer per acre, compared with 75 lbs. in South America, 87 lbs. in North America and 91 lbs. in South Asia.

Fertilizer doesn't apply itself, of course, which is why it's so important to involve the women of Africa from the start. It isn't just that women cultivate most of the food crops, like maize and cassava, while men typically focus on cash crops, like tobacco. Women—for better or worse—have generally stayed behind in rural communities, while men migrated farther and farther afield in search of employment and educational opportunities.

Fortunately, the proportion of women plant breeders and agricultural scientists

FRUIT OF THEIR LABOR

Ugandan women sift rice husks by hand. Women perform the bulk of the work on Africa's farms

has grown in recent years in places like Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Most African women scientists who are 40 or older "come from the land," says Margaret Karembu, director of the Nairobi office of the International Service for the Acquisition of Agri-Biotech Applications. "Our lives really revolved around the village and food production. We know what it means to have to collect water, to have to harvest all day. When you have more women like that being exposed to technology, it helps because they are more likely to work on ways to help their sisters back in the village."

No one expects success to come easily. One of the reasons the green revolution flourished in Asia back in the 1960s and 1970s was that it focused on just a couple of crops—rice and wheat. But Africa depends on dozens of crops scattered across hundreds of different regions at different times of the year. "You're not going to develop a single crop that revolutionizes African agriculture," says Paula Bramel, a researcher who works in Tanzania for the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture. "This is a much more diverse place."

West African scientists have made significant progress in that regard since the 1990s by creating high-yielding varieties of rice that are well adapted to the dryer conditions of upland regions. Dubbed *NERICA* (New Rice for Africa), the plants were created through conventional breeding of a high-yield Asian variety with a hardier African one—something that had been tried many times before without success.

Asian farmers, however, have had more access to transportation, irrigation and robust regional markets in which to sell their products. (The Gates-Rockefeller initiative will start with developing markets and address the other issues later.) If there is a greater sense of optimism for Africa this time, it is at least partly because a number of African governments are taking the lead, promising to increase spending on agricultural development and earmarking money for improvements in infrastructure and research.

Even if the governments and farmers do everything right, it could take decades to see widespread improvements. But the countries of sub-Saharan Africa may have no choice. If they are ever to get their houses in order, they must first start with their fields. —With reporting by Simon Robinson/Johannesburg

Emergency intervention—by the Gates and Rockefeller foundations—for soil so exhausted that even weeds can barely grow in it



HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH AN ENEMY THAT HAS NO GOVERNMENT, NO MONEY TRAIL AND NO QUALMS ABOUT KILLING WOMEN AND CHILDREN?

The enemy is Mother Nature. And on August 29, 2005, in the form of Hurricane Katrina, she killed 1,836 people, devastated a land area larger than Great Britain and caused over 100 billion dollars worth of destruction. Even when her wrath isn't as grand, she is still accountable every year for almost 500 American deaths and 14 billion dollars worth of damage.

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disaster and help Americans better prepare themselves for these events. It is truly a cause worthy of your and every American's support.

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WHO PAYS FOR SPE

Parents want the best for their disabled kids. Public schools say they can't handle the cost

By JULIE RAWE

LUKE PERKINS HAD BEEN LIVING "TWO DISPARATE LIVES," court documents say: one at school in Berthoud, Colo., where the autistic boy was making some progress, and the other outside school, where the 9-year-old was so unruly he could not take part in such basic activities as going to church or eating in a restaurant. He became so destructive at night that his family resorted to locking him in his bedroom, which had been stripped of furniture because he kept smearing feces all over everything.

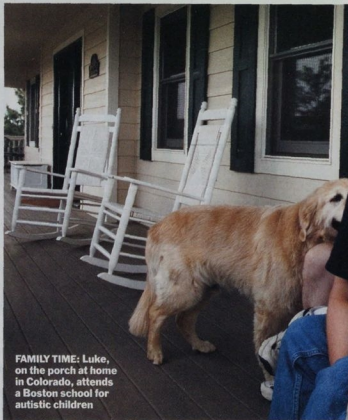
As with many autistic children, the skills Luke was acquiring in the classroom were not very portable. (Learning how to use the toilet at school, for example, didn't translate into his knowing how to use one anywhere else.) Alarmed by his regression at home, the Perkinses in late 2003 enrolled Luke in a Boston boarding school renowned for its success with autistic children. And because federal law requires school districts to provide an extended school day and even residential services if a special-education student needs them, his parents informed Colorado's Thompson school district it had to pick up the bill for Boston Higashi's \$135,000 annual tuition.

Not surprisingly, the district balked. It argued that Luke, now 11, had been doing just fine at his local elementary school and that it shouldn't be held responsible for his backsliding at home. But both an independent hearing officer and an administrative-law judge disagreed and found that Luke's disability was severe enough to warrant a publicly financed 24-hour educational program. The district is now suing in federal court to try to overturn those rulings.

The battle over who should pay how much to educate Luke Perkins is only the latest front in the war over funding for special education. It has been three decades since the Education for All Handicapped Children Act first guaranteed a free education tailored to meet the individual needs of students with disabilities. The goal of that law is honorable: to protect children whose disabilities for too long condemned them to low expectations. But the number of kids receiving special-ed services—for physical, cognitive, learning and other problems—has doubled since fiscal 1977, to an estimated 6.9 million (or roughly 11% of all students nationwide), and cash-strapped school districts are struggling to find funding for those children, who on average cost more than twice as much to educate as nondisabled students.

The result, in many instances, has been wrenching—and often expensive—clashes between parents seeking the best for their child and school administrators trying to balance the needs of all students. Special-ed costs threaten to eat into budgets for school endeavors that are not federally mandated, like athletics or the gifted-and-talented program. The money has to come from somewhere, says Becky Jay, who was president of the local school board when the Perkinses first asked for tuition reimbursement, "and regular kids lose out."

School districts stress that federal law does not require pro-



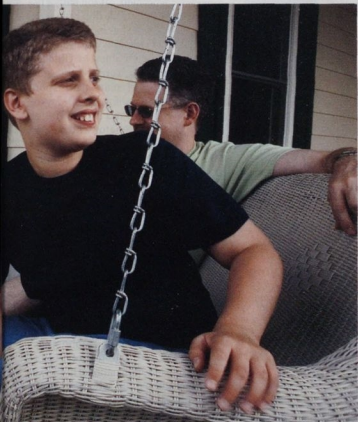
FAMILY TIME: Luke, on the porch at home in Colorado, attends a Boston school for autistic children

viding the best possible education for students like Luke. Rather, the law, which in 1990 was renamed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, guarantees only a free "appropriate" education. "It doesn't say 'free minimal public education,' and it doesn't say 'free optimal public education,'" says Francisco Negrón, general counsel for the National School Boards Association. "It's somewhere in the middle."

When Congress called for the creation of individualized education programs for special-ed students, the process was designed to be a collaboration between schools and parents, a compromise between scarce dollars and infinite hope. But often there is no such thing as a happy medium. School districts spent approximately \$146 million resolving special-ed disputes in 2000, when some 11,000 parents of disabled students asked for due-process hearings to try to get more services for their children. This year the Department of Education expects about 14,000 parents to request such a proceeding, which Peter Wright, a special-ed attorney in Deltaville, Va., likens to a cross between a nasty divorce and a medical-malpractice suit. Each side feels betrayed by the other, and each brings in a slew of expert witnesses. "The cases that are on the table tend to be really difficult, thorny questions," says Andrew Rotherham, co-director of the Washington think tank Education Sector. "How much is enough?"

In the Perkins family's dispute—which has cost the district \$191,000 in legal fees—school administrators say the parents are pe-

CIAL ED?



JIM SPELLMAN/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

nalizing the district for Luke's behavior off campus. "The issues that they had were really surrounding home," says Karen Pielin, the district's special-ed director. Teachers from Berthoud went to the Perkins' house to help get Luke on a schedule that would reinforce what he was learning at school. But Luke's father Jeff, a rheumatologist, said that even though they tried hard, the competing needs of their three other children made it impossible to keep Luke on exactly the same regimen 24 hours a day. "Luke's routine," Jeff testified, "is not our only—and cannot even be our main—goal."

The Perkins repeatedly asked to send Luke back to a district nearby where they felt the teachers were better equipped to handle autistic students. Julie Perkins says she begged Thompson's special-ed director to transfer her son. "I was in tears, and she was a stone wall," Julie says. The family's transfer requests were denied because Thompson wouldn't reimburse the other district for the cost of teaching Luke. Meanwhile, at Berthoud Elementary, with one-on-one training and a trio of teacher's aides constantly at his side, the third-grader was advancing in such areas as writing the alphabet and using a computer mouse. But those skills had to keep being retaught, and Luke's parents regarded him as falling further behind. After hiring a therapist to observe Luke at school, the Perkins learned that he was spending a lot of time throwing fits on the floor or hiding under a table. "His behavior was so out of control that education was simply a pipe dream," Jeff says.

So Luke's parents searched online for better intervention methods and came upon Boston Higashi. The school uses rigorous exercise to get autistic children to start eating and sleeping regularly. And once those biorhythms are on track, students can begin to acquire basic living and academic skills. Within four months of being at Higashi, Luke went home for vacation mostly toilet trained. He has since conquered such complex tasks as riding a unicycle and walking on stilts—activities that have given him confidence to try other new things. "I do think he can have a life that's happy and maybe even productive," Jeff says. "If we had left him in the situation he was in, he would have ended up being institutionalized."

That belief makes it particularly hard for the Perkinses to hear people criticize them for fighting to keep Luke at Higashi or suggest that they just wanted to get a troublesome child out of their house. At their due-process hearing, the school district's attorney "was telling us that we were bad parents and that we just wanted to have an easy life," Jeff says, blinking back tears. He also insists that "we're not insensitive to the money issues." But he argues that the family's tax dollars contribute to the \$2 million tuition-assistance fund Colorado created this year to help local districts with children whose special-ed services cost \$50,000 or more a year. In other words,

Luke is entitled to his share.

“[A school lawyer] was telling us that we were bad parents and that we just wanted to have an easy life.”

—JEFF PERKINS,
Luke's father

on how much support their kids should receive. Although the latest version of the statute added a requirement for a last-ditch resolution meeting before the start of court hearings, which often cost each side \$10,000 a pop, there's also a new provision that makes parents pay a district's legal fees if a court finds that they have filed a "frivolous" or "unreasonable" lawsuit. And the Supreme Court upped the ante in June when it ruled that a district didn't have to reimburse parents who prevailed in court for the fees many pay consultants to help bring additional services from school systems. The resources required—in terms of money and time—make it all but impossible for low-income parents to mount a successful campaign.

"It is very much a David and Goliath situation," the Perkins' attorney, Jack Robinson, says of going up against a school district. Even parents who have the means to get a good slingshot don't always win. Over the past 15 years, a few dozen kids have been pulled out of Boston Higashi because their families failed to get public funding and couldn't afford the tuition. As the Perkinses await reimbursement from the Thompson district, money is getting tight. The family has had to take out a \$90,000 loan to battle the school district. "We've spent every penny," Julie says. "We are right on the line." —With reporting by Rita Healy/Berthoud

To weigh in on the special-education-funding debate, post your comments at time.com/special-ed

A Mother's Choice

Do laws that let women abandon their infants protect babies or encourage parents to desert them?

By JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN

THE BABY NOW NAMED TESSA LEAVITT was born in a motel bathtub on the night of June 18, 2005. Her mother cleaned her, breast-fed her and cut the umbilical cord herself. The next day, the young Hispanic woman swaddled the infant in a white towel and took her to Fire Station 15 in Whittier, Calif., where she rang the doorbell and told the firefighters, "I want to give up my baby." When the paramedics arrived 30 minutes later, she put the child on their gurney and left. "It was eerie," recalls firefighter Kevin Cull. "The ambulance went off in one direction, and she just crossed the street and walked off in the other direction."

Tessa's birth mom gave up her child under California's Safely Surrendered Baby Law, which lets parents avoid prosecution for abandoning their newborns if they leave the infants with staff members of emergency rooms or other approved places, including fire stations. Since 1999, 47 states have adopted similar laws permitting children to be relinquished, with age limits ranging from 3 days old in 16 states to 1 year in Missouri and North Dakota. In California the baby must be under 72 hours old, but a bill recently passed by the legislature would extend the deadline to 30 days. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, who has not stated a position on the measure, has until Sept. 30 to sign or veto it. The longer grace period has renewed debate over whether such leniency actually protects children or encourages parents to desert them.

The record doesn't help answer that question. Since 2001, when California enacted its safe-haven law, more than 150 newborns there have been surrendered safely, but at least 160 have been illegally abandoned. The experience has been similar in other states. In the five years before 2001, when North Carolina began allowing the surrender of infants up to a week old, there were 10 known cases of babies who were illegally abandoned and died. From 2001 to '04, nine infants were illegally abandoned and died, while five or six were given up under the safe-haven law. Illinois, which this summer extended its safe-surrender deadline from three days to seven, has had 27 official relinquishments since 2001, but 44 babies



47 STATES ALLOW MOTHERS TO GIVE UP THEIR BABIES UNDER THE SAFE-SURRENDER LAWS

were simply abandoned, 20 of whom died.

Opponents of safe-haven laws say these statistics prove the statutes don't work and may even increase the numbers of children who are given away. "These laws are persuading women who wouldn't have abandoned their babies in any form to do so," says Adam Pertman of the Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute. Even some people who favor legal surrender of newborns are uncomfortable with expanding the law's reach to month-old babies. Los Angeles County board supervisor Don Knabe has lobbied Schwarzenegger to leave California's three-day law intact. He says pushing parents to make an early decision ensures that unwanted infants get the care and medical attention they need, and dissuades parents from abusing a baby and then waiting for the bruises to fade before giving up the infant. "If someone

waits 30 days to surrender a baby, there is no way to determine if that baby suffered any harm during that time," he says.

But advocates for longer amnesty periods say it's important to provide an alternative for parents who try to keep their newborns but become dangerously overwhelmed. "If the baby's being abused, don't we want to save that baby too?" says Dawn Geras of Save Abandoned Babies in Chicago. Alberto Torrico, the state assemblyman who sponsored California's 30-day extension, and Donne Trotter, a state senator who pushed the later deadline in Illinois, agree. They argue that parents should have time to decide if they are fit. "The reality of raising a baby really dawns on you once you get it home," Torrico says.

Still, the main impetus for drafting surrender statutes was dealing with brand-new moms who would not hesitate to leave their babies in Dumpsters. "They don't look at the baby as a human being," says Debbe Magnusen, founder of Project Cuddle, a national hotline to

rescue unwanted babies, who has helped mothers ranging in age from their teens to their 30s. "It's a tumor or an object or a problem." Spreading the word about the existence of surrender laws has been hard. The details of California's are supposed to be taught in sex-ed classes and publicly advertised. But with no state funding available, it's up to local governments and private foundations like Magnusen's to promote the law.

Somehow Tessa's birth mother found out about it. And giving up her baby gave the child a chance at a good life, at least in the eyes of Donna Leavitt, who with her husband Rob ended up adopting the girl: "I can't help but think that the safe-surrender sign at the fire station helped lead Tessa to us." The Leavitts would love for their daughter to meet her birth mom. But in most cases that is unlikely, since the law allows surrendering parents to be anonymous. "Many of these mothers do not like their babies," says Magnusen. "We're not asking them to love the baby, just not to kill it." In California, they may soon have more time to make that decision. —With reporting by Stacie Stukin/Los Angeles

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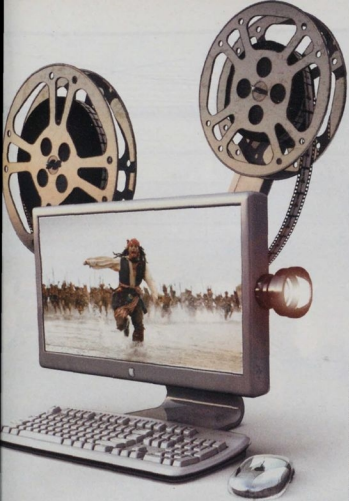
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BE TRUE.

Coming Soon to The Tiny Screen

Apple makes it easy to (legally) download films. But it faces stiff competition

Ever since the world's geeks started downloading episodes of *Star Trek* to their PCs, Hollywood and Silicon Valley execs have been preparing for the day when the world's nontechnies will also get their movie fixes (legally) online. That day took a step closer to reality last week, when Apple announced it would sell movie downloads through its iTunes store. The move raised the prospect that downloading flicks will take off among folks who don't know or care what a d-RAM chip is (that's pretty much everyone). Apple, after all, has sold more than 1.5 billion songs online, along with 45 million TV episodes. And if you believe CEO Steve Jobs, movies are a logical extension—especially since Apple aims to sell you a \$300 box that will effortlessly beam those films from your Mac or PC to your TV, without a snaky cable in sight.

Unlike its cakewalk in the online music business, however, Apple will probably face a fierce battle over films. Amazon just launched a rival service, and it's only a matter of time before Netflix and Wal-Mart jump in. So far, Disney is the only major Hollywood studio on board with Jobs' Web plan. But that could soon change. "We'll absolutely do a deal with them at some point," says a studio executive. In the meantime, here's a guide to the coming attractions in the download wars. —By **Jeremy Caplan**. With reporting by **Laura Locke/San Francisco** and **Jeffrey Ressler/Los Angeles**



THE MOVIE PLAYERS



APPLE

WHAT'S ONLINE	Besides offering movie downloads for \$10 to \$15, at near DVD quality, Apple is developing a gadget to wirelessly stream films from your Mac or PC to your TV.
WHAT'S COOL	It's easy to use. Apple has already sold 45 million TV programs through its iTunes store—and short shows and long films play seamlessly on a computer or iPod.
WHAT'S NOT	You can't rent movies or burn them to DVDs. So far, just 75 movies are available, all from Disney studios, and downloads lack DVDs' bonus features.
WHAT'S NEXT	Apple's challenge is to grow its movie library. In less than a year, iTunes went from having five TV shows to 220, and several studio execs told TIME they will eventually open up to iTunes, once they can work out the right pricing.

AMAZON

The Web's most popular store lets visitors rent or buy TV shows and movies. Amazon's "Unbox" offers thousands of films and TV episodes from multiple studios.
You can buy a movie at work and have it automatically downloaded at home, and if you plan to watch a movie just once, you can pay as little as \$1.99 to rent it.
Amazon's films require special software, and you can't watch them on an iPod or Mac. DVD-quality digital films can take more than an hour to download.
Downloads run on any Windows Media-compatible device, and they're expected to work on Microsoft's upcoming Zune player. With such partners as MGM, Sony and Universal, Amazon is rapidly expanding its catalog.

NETFLIX

Come January, the company plans to start a download service that will include titles from its vast mail-order library of 65,000 movies. No word yet on pricing.
Netflix users make long movie wish lists, and if downloading those films is as easy as getting them by mail, America's couch potatoes should be thrilled.
The company won't discuss its download technology, the audiovisual quality of its movies or how easy the service will be to use. There may be early glitches.
Netflix could be in trouble if rival download services cut into its mail-order business. Expect lots of titles to be available for download—along with potentially aggressive pricing—as Netflix tries to retain its customers and win new ones.

THE REST

Companies from Wal-Mart to Comcast are developing new ways to offer movies digitally, and Hollywood is game to hook up with all of them. Bob Chapek, Disney's president of home entertainment, says Disney will ultimately work with multiple partners. "We are format-agnostic," he told TIME. Michael Lynton, CEO of Sony Pictures, says Sony will probably sell movies through Apple at some point. "We want to see many, many retailers in the business," he says. A few more digitally intrepid movie buffs might help too.



In a **people  ready** business, ROI stands for

Are your people ready?

Where do new products come from? How about new services? Or new and better ways of working? A people-ready business has the answer: It's people, empowered by the right software. Software that streamlines the creative process, organizes the production process, and connects people who have ideas with people who can manufacture, distribute, and sell them. That's the foundation of a successful business. A people-ready business. Microsoft®. Software for the people-ready business.™ microsoft.com/peopleready

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"return on imagination."

By SEAN GREGORY

RIDE A BULL FOR A LIVING, AND YOU can be the richest rag doll on earth. All you have to do is last eight excruciating seconds on an agitated 1,800-lb. animal that would like nothing more than to smash you against the sideboards of the arena, fling you off its back and gore you with its horns. On the Professional Bull Riders (PBR) tour, concussions and broken bones are as common as Wranglers and brass-buckled belts. "Most bull riders are what you call gristleheads," says Mike Lee, 23, who has won \$2 million in five years of riding. "If you're intelligent, you wouldn't do it." Win the PBR World Championship, though, and the payoff is sweet: a \$1 million check that can go a long way toward easing the saddle sores (or worse) that you'll have the next day. Or week.

Bull riding has always been about macho cowboy culture. Now it has something else going for it: a burgeoning TV audience. On cable channel OLN, bull riding is among the highest-rated shows, handily beating broadcasts of NHL hockey games. An NBC broadcast of the PBR finals last year drew more viewers than the average audience for the Stanley Cup finals. And now Fox is on board. After Sunday football games this fall, the network plans to show two PBR events, including a broadcast from the finals in Las Vegas on Oct. 29. "This is a pivotal moment for our sport," says PBR CEO Randy Bernard. "It's our chance to take it to another level."

The PBR began in 1992, when a group of 20 riders broke away from the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association and formed their own tour (rodeo also includes events like steer wrestling). Today it's a \$46 million business, and revenue has grown 150% over the past five years. From 2003 to '05, the tour's adult fan base soared 45%, to 18 million, far outpacing the growth of NASCAR or any other major sport, according to Scarborough Research. Sponsorship revenue has nearly tripled since 2000, to \$22.5 million. Advertisers like Yamaha seem to be betting that bull riding will hit the big time. They like the demographics of the fans: the average household income is a healthy \$66,000, and 40% are women.

If the sport does take off, it will be thanks in part to dumb luck. NBC decided in 2002 to stop paying huge fees for sports like NBA basketball and started stacking its lineup with niche events—bull riding, arena football, Champ Car racing. The PBR

How a bunch of ornery (not to mention lethal) 1,800-lb. beasts became the newest stars of TV sports

BRING ON THE BULLS

RIDE 'EM COWBOY!

If a rider can last 8 sec. atop a bucking bull, judges score him on a 100-point scale. The bull's difficulty—its speed, power, change of direction while bucking—determines half the total. The other half is based on the rider's ability to match moves with the bull. During the season, riders compile points based on their scores and finishes at PBR events. After the PBR finals end in early November, the rider scoring the most overall points in the season is PBR World Champion.

STAR RIDES

Bull of the Year hopefuls—and a rider they would like to stomp



NAME	SCENE OF THE CRASH	BIG BUCKS
WEIGHT	1,300 lbs.	1,400 lbs.
AGE	5	5
BUCK-OFF %*	92%	100%
INJURIES	0	0
EARNINGS	\$3,100	\$28,000
*The percentage of rides in which the bull tosses the rider before 8 sec. For Morans, it's the percentage of rides in which he has been bucked.		Owner Jerry Nelson bought the top bull of '05 for \$15,000. He just sold a 50% stake for \$500,000.



SCOTT ROYAL—GETTY IMAGES

paid the network for airtime, guaranteeing that NBC wouldn't lose money if no one tuned in. As it turned out, audiences liked watching corn-fed young dudes cling to enraged animals for dear life. "People want to see a big bad som'bitch hoof the s___ out of somebody," says Jerry Nelson, a top bull owner. "They want to see a little blood and guts." They're usually not disappointed: 1 in 15 rides results in an injury to the rider. In 2000, one rider died in the ring.

Perhaps the smartest thing the tour did was to recognize that the bulls, not the riders, are the stars. Fans show up to see the fiercest bovine in the land. The tour promotes the bulls with merchandise like T shirts, dolls and bobbleheads, which sell better than any rider-themed goods. (The first bull to sign an autograph will make a killing.) "The bulls should be more famous than us," says two-time champ Adriano Moraes. "They're better athletes." They also have better names, which reflect their personalities. Bodacious, a bull who died in 2000, was the Babe Ruth of bull riding, the sultan of cowboy swat. A bull named Ugly wasn't beauty-contest material, but in the arena he was a champ. This summer, one bull literally tore the pants off a handler before an event. The animal's nom de guerre: Hit and Run.

As terrifying as it can be to climb aboard an irate bull, riders want the beasts plenty riled up. The bull's performance counts for half the rider's score—out of a possible 100 points—and the harder it bucks the better. Indeed, what separates a star bull from the herd is his ability to get bucky on demand. Each year the bulls are shuttled to dozens of events from California to Connecticut, and one never knows how they will emerge from the ride. "Everywhere we go, the hay and the grain might taste a little different," says Cody Lambert, the PBR's livestock director. "The good ones learn to relax through all of this and not let it stress them out." Dehydration is a risk, and can leave a bull lethargic for an event. And no one wants a sleepy bull.

Riders, for their part, generally fall into two camps: Bible thumpers and hard-living cowboys. Riders know that each contest could be their last, a realization that drives some to church, others to drink. The religious types, says veteran rider Chris Shivers, "want to be in the right spot when it's time to go." This fall, they may want to add one more thing to their prayers: that football fans stay tuned to their eight seconds of glory. —*With reporting by Theo Emery/Greensboro, N.C.*

ADRIANO MORAES: KEVIN MAZUR



PANDORA'S BOX

1,550 lbs.
7
96%
0
\$26,000
Gets stronger and grumpier with age. Talk to him in the pen, and he could throw a rider off.



WALK THIS WAY

1,800 lbs.
7
100%
0
\$7,000
Fairly friendly when not competing. He kicks so high it often looks as if he will topple over.



JUST A DREAM

1,600 lbs.
6
82%
0
\$9,000
A sweetie at times; in the pit he is "the baddest bastard in the world," his owner says.



ADRIANO MORAES

185 lbs.
36
42%
18 (two broken legs)
\$2 million
Compares riding to ballet, since both require finesse. He's in position for a third world title.

A TALE OF TWO MOTHERS

THEIR SONS **BIGGIE** AND **TUPAC** WERE SLAIN. NOW EACH HAS EMBARKED ON A MISSION: TO HONOR THEIR SONS' LEGACIES

By TA-NEHISI COATES

IN A SEASON OF GRIM ANNIVERSARIES, ANOTHER PASSED last week, little noticed. It has been 10 years since rapper Tupac Shakur was shot on a street in Las Vegas. And in six months Voletta Wallace, the mother of Notorious B.I.G., will arrive for the 10th time at the date on which her son fell to a bullet in Los Angeles. While to the wider world, Biggie and Tupac were multiplatinum artists, hip-hop ambassadors and friends turned envenomed foes, to Wallace and Afeni Shakur they were sons, repositories of dreams and years of nurturing. "It's like I got the phone call yesterday," Shakur says of Tupac's death. "All I could do was learn to live in a world where my child was not there."

That lesson has played out in different ways for each woman. Having been unable to prevent her only son's death, Shakur, 59, has sought immortality for him. Armed with a seemingly limitless catalog of unreleased material, she has supervised the production of seven posthumous albums, the documentary *Tupac: Resurrection* and the new book *Tupac Shakur Legacy*. Plus she has opened the Tupac Amaru Shakur Center for the Arts, to encourage youngsters to pursue their artistic dreams. Mostly through her work, Tupac has become rap's





first cult figure. For Wallace the issue is justice. She has spent the past four years embroiled in a wrongful-death suit against the city of Los Angeles. The suit alleges that crooked L.A.P.D. cops conspired with Death Row records owner Suge Knight to have Biggie murdered. (Knight has denied the allegation.) In July, her actions forced the L.A.P.D. to assign a new task force to investigate the murder.

Just as children resolve not to make the mistakes of their parents, the paths the two women have chosen reverse the approaches taken by their offspring. Tupac was a troublemaker. By the time he died at age 25, he had shot two off-duty cops, been convicted of sexual abuse, and assaulted a film director. He had also sold about 20 million records and starred in six movies. Wallace's son spent time as a drug dealer on the corners of Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood but got credibility from his way with rap rather than his rap sheet. Tupac was more prolific (when he died, he left some 150 unreleased songs; Biggie, who was 24 when he died, left none). But Biggie's intricate rhyme schemes, impeccable rhythm and perverse sense of humor made him a god among rap cognoscenti. In death, however, it is Tupac who has emerged as the artist and Biggie as a problem for law enforcement.

Perhaps the mothers also grieve in different ways because of their contrasting relationships with their sons. Afeni Shakur was a black power-era radical who fell into drug addiction in the 1980s. Out of Tupac's difficult childhood, he crafted a tortured persona as a man both blessed and cursed. Throughout his career, he invoked the pride and shame he felt about his mother, making hits out of confessionals like *Dear Mama* and *Keep Ya Head Up*.

Wallace, 59, an immigrant from Jamaica, raised her only child Christopher—Biggie's real name—in Brooklyn. Biggie's father left the family before Biggie turned 2. But Wallace forged on, holding down two jobs and enrolling her son in Catholic school. She took pride when he made the honor roll but was disappointed when, at 17, he left school to sell drugs. Much like Tupac, Biggie looked to his mother for inspiration for his music. "My Momma got cancer in her breast," he mourned on his debut album, *Ready to Die*. "Don't ask me why I'm motherf___in' stressed."

The two rappers met in the early '90s

and by all accounts became fast friends, performing together in public and hanging out in private. But the relationship swiftly deteriorated after Tupac suspected Biggie of being involved in a robbery attempt that left him shot and hospitalized. They feuded right up until Tupac's death.

On a broiling day in August almost a decade later, Shakur offers me a tour of her newly constructed ranch home in Lumberton, N.C. She shows off a bath-



DOUBLE TROUBLED: Biggie and Tupac mugging for the camera, before the feud

WHILE AFENI SHAKUR HAS CONCENTRATED ON TENDING TO HER SON'S ARTISTIC LEGACY, VOLETTA WALLACE HAS BEEN ON A MANHUNT

room the size of a small apartment and talks up the 56 acres of farmland where she's growing USDA-certified organic crops and raising animals. That is what her son has left her. And it's easy to see what she gave him. She is excitable and charismatic, and she talks—and curses—freely, laughing in the middle of crying. In the late '60s, Shakur was one of the more outspoken black power voices on the East Coast—one of the "Panther 21," charged with and acquitted of conspiring to blow up the New York Botanical Garden and several department stores. (Full disclosure: I first met Shakur as a child. She and my father were comrades in the Black Panther Party.)

Shakur is proud of her Panther past and of her son, but she is also brutally honest. Shortly before he was killed, Tupac

attacked Biggie and virtually every other rapper of note in New York City in a profanity-laced tirade called *Hit 'Em Up*. Among things unprintable in this magazine, he claimed he had an affair with Biggie's wife Faith Evans. "To tell you the truth, I was proud that Tupac had found an excellent way to get back at [Biggie] without violence," says Shakur. "He could take a word and beat you to death." But now, given some time and perspective, Shakur is less certain. "Faith has children. Biggie has children," she says. "I'm never going to change my son's words or tell anyone I'm sorry for them, but one of the things we want to do is have a space for Biggie in the garden, so people can understand that those two men were a little off point but they were great men."

The garden she refers to is behind the arts center she created nine years ago as part of her effort to shape the public memory of her son—to "cleanse the stain," as she puts it, from his legacy. Every summer a throng of kids comes to the center, which sits off a busy road in Stone Mountain, Ga., to learn dance, creative writing and music.

While Shakur has concentrated on tending her son's artistic legacy, Wallace has been on a manhunt. Perhaps because Biggie left little to remember him by or to preserve his image for history, his mother fights for his memory the best way she knows how. She declined to be interviewed for this story but said through a representative that she was "sickened by the personal attacks and lengths the L.A.P.D. was willing to go to in order to keep the victim's family from getting to the bottom of this cover-up. All we have ever wanted was the truth and justice."

Her lawsuit resulted in a mistrial after the judge ruled that the L.A.P.D. had deliberately concealed evidence. The case is due back in court early next year.

Doesn't Shakur want justice for Tupac? She isn't holding her breath. One of the principal suspects, Orlando Anderson, was killed a year and a half later, and the investigation seems to have stopped. "They still haven't solved Malcolm's murder. They still haven't solved Martin's murder," Shakur says, alluding to the suspicions around the deaths of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. In a flash, the fire of her Panther past rears up. "When they solve those, then they can get to Tupac."

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What important information about ABILIFY do I need to know?

Elderly patients diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILIFY, are at an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILIFY. Tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away if you have or develop any conditions or side effects, such as:

- Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of **neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)**, which is rare but potentially fatal
- Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of **tardive dyskinesia (TD)**, which may be permanent
- If you are **elderly**, an increased risk of stroke or ministroke has been reported in clinical trials for elderly patients with dementia

- If you have **diabetes**, risk factors for, or symptoms of diabetes, increases in blood sugar levels have been reported with medicines like ABILIFY. In some cases these were serious and resulted in coma or death
- If you have lightheadedness, seizures, trouble swallowing, or suicidal thoughts

It's important to tell your healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions with ABILIFY.

You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

Do not drive or operate heavy machinery until you know how ABILIFY affects you.

What are the most common side effects of ABILIFY?

Common side effects include: constipation, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), headache, nausea, upset stomach, vomiting, agitation, anxiety, insomnia, sleepiness, lightheadedness, and tremor.

If you or someone you know needs help paying for medicine, call 1-888-47PA-NOW (1-888-477-2649). Or go to www.pparc.org



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What is ABILIFY?

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat patients with an acute manic or mixed episode associated with Bipolar I Disorder and for maintaining efficacy in these patients who have been stabilized and then maintained for at least six weeks.

What is Bipolar I Disorder?

Bipolar I Disorder is an illness with symptoms thought to be caused by an imbalance of brain chemicals. People who have Bipolar I Disorder tend to experience extreme mood swings, along with other specific symptoms and behaviors. These mood swings, or "episodes," can take three forms: manic, depressive, or mixed episodes. Common symptoms of a manic episode are: feeling extremely happy, being very irritable and anxious, talking too fast and too much, and having more energy and needing less sleep than usual. Common symptoms of a depressive episode include: feelings of overwhelming sadness or emptiness, low energy, a loss of interest in things, trouble concentrating, changes in sleep or appetite, and thoughts of dying or suicide. A mixed episode includes symptoms that are both manic and depressive.

Who should not take ABILIFY?

People who are allergic to ABILIFY or to any substance that is in it. Please talk with your doctor or healthcare professional.

What important information should I know about ABILIFY?

Elderly patients, diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILIFY, are at an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILIFY. Tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away if you have any conditions or side effects, including the following:

Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS): Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of NMS, a rare but serious side effect that could be fatal.

Tardive dyskinesia (TD): Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of a serious condition known as TD, which may be permanent.

Elderly patients with dementia: An increased risk of stroke and ministroke has been reported in a clinical study of elderly patients with dementia (for example, increased memory loss and inability to perform daily activities). ABILIFY is not approved for treating patients with dementia.

Diabetes: Patients with diabetes and those having risk factors for diabetes (for example, obesity, family history of diabetes), as well as those with symptoms such as unexpected increases in thirst, urination, or hunger should have their blood sugar levels checked before and during treatment. Increases in blood sugar levels (hyperglycemia), in some cases serious and associated with coma or death, have been reported in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY.

Orthostatic hypotension: Lightheadedness or faintness caused by a sudden change in heart rate and blood pressure when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position (orthostatic hypotension) has been reported with ABILIFY.

Dysphagia: Medicines like ABILIFY have been associated with swallowing problems (dysphagia). If you had or have swallowing problems, you should tell your doctor or healthcare professional.

Suicidal thoughts: If you have suicidal thoughts, you should tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away.

What should I tell my doctor or healthcare professional before I start taking ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

Information about your overall health, and any medical problems you may have, such as:

- Whether you're taking any other prescription or nonprescription (over-the-counter) medicines
- Whether you're pregnant, plan to become pregnant, or are breast-feeding
- If you or anyone in your family has had seizures
- If you or anyone in your family has had high blood sugar or diabetes

What should I avoid when taking ABILIFY?

- Avoid overheating and dehydration
- Avoid driving or operating hazardous machinery until you know how ABILIFY affects you
- Avoid drinking alcohol
- Avoid breast-feeding an infant

What are the common side effects of ABILIFY?

Common side effects include: constipation, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), headache, nausea, upset stomach, vomiting, agitation, anxiety, trouble sleeping (insomnia), sleepiness, lightheadedness, and tremor.

What percentage of people stopped taking ABILIFY due to side effects?

In clinical trials, the percentage of people who discontinued taking ABILIFY due to side effects was similar for patients treated with ABILIFY (11%) and for patients treated with sugar pill (9%).

Can I safely take ABILIFY while I'm taking other medications?

ABILIFY can be taken with most drugs; however, taking ABILIFY with some medicines may require your doctor or healthcare professional to adjust the dosage of ABILIFY.

These medicines* include:

- ketconazole (NIZORAL®)
- quinine (QUINIDEX®)
- fluoxetine (PROZAC®)
- paroxetine (PAXIL®)
- carbamazepine (TEGRETOL®)

It is important to tell your doctor or healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, just to be sure.

General Information:

- ABILIFY is usually taken once a day, with or without food
- ABILIFY should be kept out of the reach of children and pets
- Store ABILIFY Tablets and Oral Solution at room temperature
- For patients who must limit their sugar intake, be aware that ABILIFY Oral Solution contains sugar
- If you have additional questions, talk to your doctor or healthcare professional

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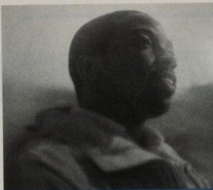
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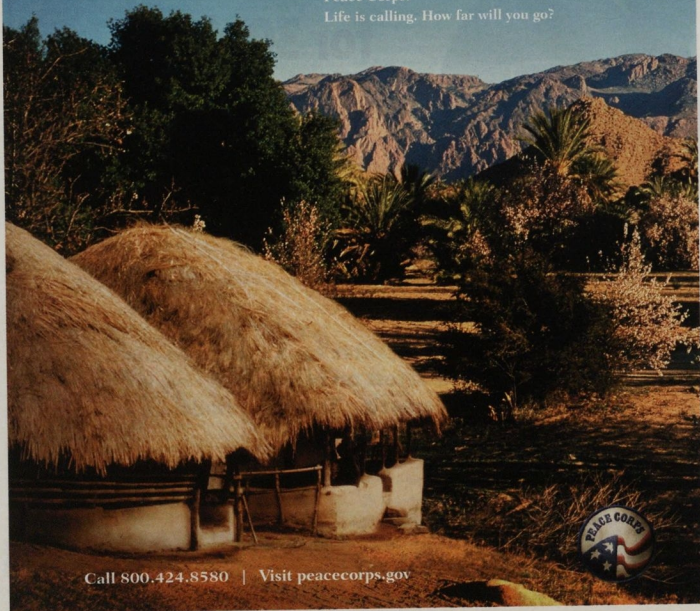
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By JAMES PONIEWOZIK

TINA FEY, FORMERLY OF *SATURDAY Night Live*, is in the midst of a major career change, one that has taken her from a late-night writers' room to, um, a late-night writers' room. On her sitcom *30 Rock*, she plays Liz Lemon, head writer of *The Girlie Show*, a decently rated, woman-oriented sketch show. Jack Donaghy (Alec Baldwin), an executive at NBC's corporate parent General Electric who made his career selling GE ovens, decides it needs more male viewers. So he forces Liz to hire Tracy Jordan (*SNL* alum Tracy Morgan), a wild and (literally) crazy comic who has starred in such Waynesque hit movies as *Who Dat Ninja?* and *Black Cop*, *White Cop* ("One does the duty. One gets the booty"). Soon the show has been retitled *TGS with Tracy Jordan*, and Liz is left running a hit show that she's not sure is really hers.

On the sitcom, Liz is at odds with her boss. In real life, Fey agrees with what NBC says about *30 Rock*, which she also writes



60 SECOND CHANCE: Whitford and Perry return to save their old show

Do Not Adjust Your Set

NBC really is probing the perils of late-night sketch-comedy shows—twice

and produces. First, even though the network has a second fall debut—*Studio 60 on the Sunset Strip*, from *The West Wing*'s creator, Aaron Sorkin—about a sketch-comedy show, neither series is about that other marquee NBC property, *SNL*. (Of course not. I'll assume they're about *Mad TV*.) Second, neither is in competition with the other. "I'm pretty sure we can never be on at the same time," Fey says dryly. "They're a drama. We're a comedy. We're different."

Well, kind of. The pilot of *30 Rock* (Wednesdays, 8 p.m. E.T.; debuts Oct. 11) has a scene in which the writers challenge an actor to do impressions—Jay Leno, Jerry Seinfeld, Ray Romano. "There's a new promo [for *Studio 60*] that NBC showed me," Fey says, "and someone in it was saying, 'Show me your Tom Cruise.' I said, 'Oh! I guess there is a little overlap.'"

Radio humorist Fred Allen famously said that imitation is the sincerest form of television. But usually it's different networks doing the imitating. How did NBC get two shows in the same unusual milieu in the same season? Apparently by coincidence. Fey, who had a four-year develop-

TWIST OF FEY: The *SNL* vet, who plays a familiar role on *30 Rock*, with Baldwin



ment deal with NBC, first pitched the network a sitcom about cable news. Kevin Reilly, president of NBC Entertainment, felt Fey was using the news setting as a fig leaf for her own experience and encouraged her to write what she knew. Sorkin, meanwhile, was shopping his return to TV with a show about TV—a topic that earned him high praise, if not high ratings, with ABC's *Sports Night*. *SNL* executive producer Lorne Michaels, a co-executive producer of *30 Rock*, says Fey's sitcom was in the works when Sorkin asked to tour the *SNL* set for research. "I honestly believe he came to his decision separately," Michaels says.

NBC and both series' makers don't like the shows to be compared—the producers of *Studio 60* refused to be interviewed for this article for that reason. And on the one hand, they have a point. The shows have different formats. (Helpful mnemonic: the one with 30 in the title is half an hour; the one with 60, an hour.) They have different tones: *30 Rock* lampoons all its characters, even Liz, while Sorkin, as Michaels says with understatement, "tends to write in a more heroic mode." It's not a zero-sum game; as Reilly notes, "If these were two cop shows, we wouldn't even be having this conversation." On the other hand, come on. Any person not employed by GE is reasonably going to ask whether he or she wants to watch both shows.

In fact, looking at how two smart writers approach similar settings and conflicts is a study in how to deal with ideas on TV. Start with *Studio 60* (Mondays, 10 p.m. E.T.), which is all about Big Important Subjects. Whither television? Whither social discourse? Whither this red-blue divided nation? The producer (Judd Hirsch) of *Studio 60*—the long-running sketch-show-within-a-show—is forced to kill a controversial sketch about Christians. He goes all *Network* on his network, launching an on-air tirade about how gutless corporations are "lobotomizing" America. (If there's no two-minute-plus speech, it ain't a Sorkin show.) After he is fired, the new network president (Amanda Peet) persuades former *Studio 60* writers Matt Albie (Matthew Perry) and Danny Tripp (Bradley Whitford) to take over and revitalize the show. Complicating their job are a meddling corporate boss (Steven Weber), Danny's announcement that he tested positive for cocaine and Matt's history with star Harriet Hayes (Sarah Paulson), a born-again Christian he broke up with because she appeared on *The 700 Club*. (Sorkin, who has had drug run-ins and dated devout Christian and *West Wing* actress Kristin



WHEN TV DEPICTS TV

Shows-within-shows are almost as old as TV itself. Here's the highlight reel:

◀ THE DICK VAN DYKE SHOW

Van Dyke's Rob Petrie was head writer for the fictional *Alan Brady Show*, although the sitcom also focused on his home life (and his ottoman)

▶ THE MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW

Moore (who played Laura Petrie in *Van Dyke*) was a news producer in this comedy; Ted Knight was blowhard anchor Ted Baxter



◀ THE LARRY SANDERS SHOW

The most astute of inside-TV spoofs followed the days and late nights of an insecure talk host (Garry Shandling)

▶ THE COMEBACK

This brutal and underrated 2005 story of a sitcom actress (Lisa Kudrow) desperately seeking the spotlight proved too dark even for HBO audiences



Chenoweth, is also writing what he knows.)

As always, Sorkin proves he can make dialogue skip rope. When a detractor calls Matt and Danny "Barbra Streisand-loving," Matt asks, "Was she calling us Hollywood liberals, or was she calling us gay?" Danny: "It's a fine distinction." Perry and Whitford have fantastic chemistry; squabbling but loyal, Matt and Danny are like a long-married couple but with more passion. (The women characters are much weaker: Harriet is a pretty billboard who serves as the token religious voice, while Peet drifts through with weird detachment, as if she were playing the princess of a small country.) And some details are spot-on: one invented sketch, "Peripheral Vision Man," is a dead ringer for the kind of lame skits that have long plagued *SNL*. I mean *Mad TV*.

In terms of craft, *Studio 60* is very good. Sorkin is probably incapable of writing a bad show. But self-satisfied, self-serious and self-congratulatory—that he can do. From the mood lighting and stirring music to the hot-button story lines to the characters' arias on the august legacy of their show, Sorkin makes running a comedy program seem like negotiating an arms treaty. Is

your beef with sketch shows that they used to be daring social critiques—"Chizzburger! Chizzburger!"—or that they used to make you laugh? Worse, *Studio 60* fails to show us that Matt and Danny are actually funny. (Witty, yes, but so was President Bartlet.) In Episode 2, Matt has to come up with a knock-'em-dead opening sketch for his first show. His idea is—wait for it—a *Pirates of Penzance* parody. *Studio 60* treats it like comic genius.

You might assume that *30 Rock*, the sitcom, is the more lightweight show. But Fey began comedy writing with Chicago's Second City troupe, where, she says, "your starting place was always current events and social issues." Her hit movie *Mean Girls* was a mainstream feminist entertainment that was steeped in ideas but not overwhelmed by them. And *30 Rock* is at heart about the race-class-gender triangle among its three leads: Liz, a talented but headstrong woman; Jack, a conservative suit who's not as dumb as Liz wishes he were; and Tracy, a loony—but cannily so—black celebrity who came from nothing.

But it's socially conscious second. First, it's funny. In the pilot (being reshot in parts for recasting), Jack sizes up Liz instantly, with creepy accuracy: "New York, third-wave feminist, college educated, single and pretending to be happy about it, over-scheduled, undersexed, you buy any magazine that has 'Healthy Body Image' on the cover, and every two years you take up knitting for a week." In a brilliant bonding scene, Tracy takes Liz to a strip club and says she could learn from the dancers: "They know the window of opportunity's only open for a moment." Liz stuffs a bill into a persistent stripper's stocking, protesting, "This is for computer classes."

30 Rock is willing to let each of its characters be right and wrong; it's confident that we don't need to worship them to like them. And for all the show's cartooniness, its gender-conscious take on the TV business is actually more sophisticated. Sure, networks occasionally interfere with shows for political reasons. But more often, they do so for demographic reasons. Or for no reason. "Sometimes," Jack boasts, "you have to change things that are perfectly good just to make them your own."

Which is not to say *30 Rock* is cynical. But where *Studio 60* reveres television, *30 Rock* loves TV, and that makes the difference. At one point in *Studio 60*, the show's director cracks a joke that a stressed-out Danny fails to appreciate. Says the director: "It's a comedy show, dude." Good thing somebody remembers that. ■

James Poniewozik

Monopoly Is Us



IF YOU WANT TO UNDERSTAND THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE toward capitalism, look inside your hall closet. There's probably a *Monopoly* game in there somewhere. *Monopoly* is the most popular board game in history, with more than 250 million copies sold. You may never have taken a real estate seminar or cracked an economics textbook. But if you grew up in an American home, and at some point it rained, you played *Monopoly*.

Smarter writers than I have tried to figure out why Americans resist the regulation of business and markets, often even when we

would personally stand to benefit from that regulation. But you could do worse than to start with the fact that for more than 70 years, we have played a game whose object is to corner a market and beggar our neighbors. Every year pundits decry video games like *Bully* or *Grand Theft Auto*, yet our first introduction to one of business's most predatory, illegal practices is through a widely loved game with adorable doggy and thimble pieces. It's as if someone had invented a children's board game called *Racketeering or Usury*.

Last week, however, *Monopoly* changed its face. At least the doggy-and-thimble part. In Hasbro's *Monopoly: Here and Now* edition, the game has been made over, and upscaled, for the 21st century. The properties, named by designer Charles Darrow for locales in Atlantic City, now include real estate from around the country, selected by online vote. The railroads have become airports. Weimar-style hyperinflation has set in—for passing Go, you collect \$2 million—but Times Square is a bargain at \$4 mil, and while it's a refreshing admission that, yes, you can buy the White House, it cost the present occupant far more than \$3.2 million.

Most controversial are the tokens, which have gone corporate. You can now travel the board as a Motorola cell phone, a bag of McDonald's fries, a cup of Starbucks coffee, a Toyota Prius or a New Balance sneaker. The companies did not pay a placement fee, but the consumer group Commercial Alert decried the change as a sign of the ubiquitous branding of American life. Which it is, and which is why the change is overdue. It's part of *Monopoly*'s cultural role: to let people playact contemporary business, pretty or not.

Monopoly was introduced in 1935—the midst of the Great

Depression. Marketing a game about building business empires to a country whose economy has collapsed sounds like some kind of dark conceptual satire, and fittingly, the game has a conflicted attitude toward wealth. On the one hand, it portrays business as Darwinian, random and vaguely criminal. (You do occasional, unexplained stints in jail and can get out by paying somebody off.) On the other hand, it makes real estate moguldom seem homey and attainable. Maybe it's not surprising the game be-

came a hit. It suggested—1930s-populist style—that the fat cats hid great crimes behind their great fortunes. (It was based on *The Landlord's Game*, a didactic board game patented in 1904 by a reformer advocating landlord taxes to counter the exploitation of tenants.) Yet it promised that you too could get rich, by saving your salary, seizing lucky opportunities and winning the occasional second prize in a beauty contest.

Fast-forward to 2006, and what are the obsessions of American culture? For starters, getting rich off property—after years of skyrocketing home prices and flattening salaries—which makes the real estate game more relevant than ever. (HGTV has practically become a financial channel, with shows like *Designed to Sell*, *Buy Me* and *My House Is Worth What?*) We've moved from a manufacturing to a service economy, and the white-collar icons—bye, wheelbarrow, hello, laptop—seem aimed at the buyer willing to shell out \$29.99 (\$10 or so more than the old edition).

Combine all that with consumers creating the illusion of status with luxe accessories—the camera phone, the iPod, the \$4 latte—and the gentrification of *Monopoly* makes perfect sense. Is it so ridiculous to let a Toyota Prius define your identity on a game board? That's what Toyota Prius drivers do on the street.

If you hate the new *Monopoly*, take heart. The old version is still for sale, and I suspect there will be a new new *Monopoly* before long. After all, that 2006 hybrid car and phone will look pretty dated in a couple of years and, as with your personal electronics, you'll want an upgrade. Just another reason to keep passing Go and collecting your \$2 million. ■



The Family That Drifts Together



In a wise new novel, life happens, haphazardly



ALICE McDERMOTT IS ONE OF those writers who take seriously the injunction to write about what you know. The intricately beset realm of Irish Americans in New York City and on Long Island is the world she grew up in. It's that same world she has offered us, newly lighted, examined and even transfigured, in five earlier novels,

including *Charming Billy*, a National Book Award winner in 1998.

In *After This* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 279 pages), she is settled in once more among her postwar Catholics, telling the story of John and Mary Keane and their four children, a family saga that spans three decades, from the end of World War II to the 1970s. Vietnam makes its lethal appearance, and abortion becomes an option that even Catholic girls exer-

McDERMOTT Her characters are swept along paths they never quite intended to go on

cise, but don't come to this book looking for the Beatles or J.F.K. McDermott's preoccupations go much deeper than baby-boom artifacts, deeper even than mere history. What is it, she wonders, that holds together the loose fabric of our lives?

John's and Mary's lives go down unintended paths. And when the 1960s hit, the era dances away one by one with their kids. War, pregnancy, aimless adventure and the appeal of doing not much at all shape the Keanes' various fates, although shape may be too strong a word. Through all of this they keep some attachment to their Catholic faith. If nothing else, it bears into the perplexing world two essential ideas, pity and compassion—essential for people making their way through times they will never master, even if they were more masterful types.

This is a daring book. McDermott lets the major events happen offstage. She occasionally flashes forward to dispatch a character to his grave in a sentence or two. Not all her bets pay off, but by the end of this strangely haunting novel, you're convinced that what she knows is something bigger than just New York and Long Island. —By Richard Lacayo

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Jeopardy! giant Ken Jennings' guided tour of the world of trivia freaks



IF KEN JENNINGS' *BRAINIAC* (Villard; 269 pages) were a Daily Double on *Jeopardy!* you would want to bet cautiously. Not only does it have the ugliest cover of any book published so far this year (for what it's worth, the most beautiful is Bruce Wagner's *Memorial*), but also it is by Ken Jennings—you know, the Mormon computer-programmer celebnerd who, beginning in 2004, rattled off a record-



FACT FREAK A former Mormon missionary, he answered his first trivia question at age 4

breaking 74-game *Jeopardy!* winning streak. Good enough for \$2.5 million and 15 minutes of syndicated fame, but a book deal seems like a stretch.

Except the weird thing is, Jennings is actually a very charming, insightful writer.

Instead of obsessing about the Streak, he explores the wider subculture of trivia. He goes to Stevens Point, Wis., for its annual town-wide 54-hr. trivia marathon. He hits trivia night in a Boston bar and kibitzes at a college quiz-bowl championship. He exhumes such trivia titans of yesteryear as John Timbs, the author of the 1856 best seller *Things Not Generally Known*, and Ruth Horowitz, the rebus-solving legend who dominated 20 straight episodes of *Concentration* in 1966. And of course Jennings gives us all the nerd-on-nerd action from his *Jeopardy!* stint, which he graciously chalks up to luck and good buzzer technique.

Jennings is hip enough to make fun of his freakish triviaphilia but savvy enough to indulge it too—part of the joy of *Brainiac* is learning that Charles Darwin and Abraham Lincoln were born on the same day and that Charles Bronson was the only member of both *The Magnificent Seven* and *The Dirty Dozen*. There's something touching about the world of trivia. It's a place where minutiae have a paradoxical grandeur and no fact is meaningless. Or as the coach of Carleton's quiz-bowl team puts it, "Everything's going to be worth 10 points someday." —By Lev Grossman

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REUNITED U.S. Army Specialist Mauricio Luna greets his family at Fort Lewis, Wash.

Patricia Foulkrod's *The Ground Truth*, released in theaters last week and available on DVD next week, is both horrifying and hopeful. The first half of the film contains terrible, pulverizing footage from the Iraqi theater and testimony of atrocities that still haunt the men who saw or committed them. The second half is about the challenges these soldiers faced when they returned home, many of them with damaged bodies, most of them forced to relive their nightmares every night. One young man came back and hanged himself with a garden hose; another, fearful of demons attacking him, sleeps with a gun under his bed.

For most of the men and women appearing here, the best therapy was getting active: agitating for veterans' rights and a greater awareness of the war's human cost. And there's the hope the film leaves its viewers with. These articulate, caring young people are our best and bravest. Some of them should be in Congress, as the nagging conscience of the U.S. adventure in Iraq. Their passion makes *The Ground Truth* by far the finest film to emerge from the awful tangle of 9/11 and the Iraq war. —By Richard Corliss

Coming Home Isn't Easy

The best film so far about the cost of war in Iraq

THEY JOINED THE MILITARY TO GET INTO college, or out of the ghetto, or because of its seemingly studly glamour. "I saw a Marine when I was in high school," Sergeant Robert Sarra recalls in a new documentary. "And I was like, that's it! They're mean, they're tough, they got cool

uniforms, and chicks dig 'em." That image barely survived through Sarra's basic training—brainwashing, he and other young men now call it. As for combat, he found it less like a *Top Gun* video game, shooting MiGs out of the sky, and more like *Grand Theft Auto*, bombing civilians crossing a Baghdad street.

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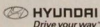
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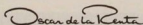
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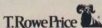
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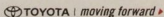


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LIFE INSURANCE ISN'T FOR THE PEOPLE WHO DIE. IT'S FOR THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE.

When Michael Rausch was just one year old, his mom, Julie, was diagnosed with a malignant brain tumor. The news devastated his father, Bill, and severely affected the concrete business he and Julie ran together. Sadly, the company failed shortly before Julie's death. But the story doesn't end there. Life insurance meant Bill was able to restart the business and provide a secure and loving home for Michael.

Are you prepared should the very worst happen? Without adequate life insurance, your financial plans may be just a savings and investment program that dies when you do. Consult a qualified insurance professional to help you create a plan that will continue to provide for the ones you love.



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www.life-line.org

The Life and Health Insurance Foundation for Education is a nonprofit organization dedicated to helping consumers make smart insurance decisions to safeguard their families' financial futures. For more information about life insurance or tips on finding a qualified insurance professional, visit www.life-line.org or call 1 888-LIFE-777.



LIFE INSURANCE
AWARENESS MONTH

Michael Rausch

What you need to know about life insurance

 **LIFE**
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To love. To honor. To embrace.

The 2006 State Farm® Embrace Life™ Awards honor five women who have lost a spouse and moved beyond grief to embrace life and inspire others. One woman set up a scholarship in her husband's name. Another created a marathon just for women. They all embraced life differently, and they all are heroes.

To celebrate their achievements, State Farm Life Insurance Companies awarded each a prize of \$10,000 and a trip for two to New York City. On September 14, 2006, they were recognized at a gala event hosted by State Farm and Embrace Life Awards spokesperson Doris Roberts, acclaimed actress from the Emmy award-winning series, *Everybody Loves Raymond*, and a widow herself.



Embrace Life Lessons

State Farm shares important life lessons that can help families prepare for and deal with life's most difficult moments.

Prepare your family for the future. Without life insurance coverage, your family risks having to change their way of life to accommodate for lost income. Visit a State Farm agent to determine the amount and type of coverage you need to ensure that your family is able to fulfill their hopes and dreams...no matter what the future holds.

Make time early for difficult conversations. Be prepared: Let your loved ones know where you stand on issues like financial planning, long-term care, and organ donation.

Live life to the fullest. Develop a plan when you're healthy, outlining your personal and family goals, such as vacations, education, and community involvement.

Establish a support system. If you experience the loss of a loved one, don't be afraid to ask for help from friends, family, or a member of the clergy.

Stay inspired in life. After a loss, it's important to channel your energies and focus on the future. Concentrate on the promise of living, rather than the past.

Champion the legacy. Continuing a legacy helps you stay connected to your lost loved ones. It can be as simple as telling your loved one's stories to your children or as grand as a community-wide project.

To learn more about the State Farm Embrace Life Awards and this year's honorees, visit the News and Events Center page at www.statefarm.com.

State Farm congratulates the 2006 Embrace Life Awards™ honorees:

Amanda Thompson, Brandon, Minnesota
Elaine Doll-Dunn, Spearfish, South Dakota
Grete Sorensen, Walnut Creek, California
Dening Wu-Lohez, New York, New York
Laurel Schwass-Drew, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Chances are, you need life insurance

Life insurance is a simple answer to a very difficult question: How will my family manage financially when I die?

It's a subject no one really wants to think about. But if someone depends on you financially, it's one you cannot avoid.

There are many types of life insurance, but for all of them the bottom line is the same: It pays cash to your loved ones after you die, replacing your income and allowing the financial plans you put in place to continue uninterrupted. Life insurance payments can be used to cover daily living expenses, mortgage payments, outstanding loans, college tuition and other essential expenses. And, importantly, the death benefit proceeds of a life insurance policy are almost never subject to federal income taxes.

If you've worked hard to establish a solid financial framework for your family—investments, home equity, a savings plan, retirement accounts—life insurance is the foundation upon which it all rests. It can guard against the need to make drastic changes to future plans if the unexpected occurs. Certain types of life insurance even have a built-in savings feature that can help you reach asset accumulation goals.

Most Americans need life insurance, and many who already have it might need to update their coverage. This guide will help you sort through your options and show you how to find a plan that's right for you and your family.

Common Excuses That Shouldn't Stop You From Getting the Coverage You Need

"It's Too Expensive."

Not having any or enough life insurance coverage could be more costly to your family.

"I Haven't Gotten Around to It."

There are no guarantees in life, so don't procrastinate.

"I Prefer to Put My Money Elsewhere."

This might work if you're sure you're going to live a nice long life.

"I Worry About Making the Wrong Decision."

A qualified insurance professional can answer all your questions and guide you through the buying process.

"The Coverage I Have Through My Employer Is Sufficient."

Typically, employers provide a modest amount of coverage, and you can't take it with you when you leave your job.



**DON'T HAVE
LIFE INSURANCE?
You're not alone.**

81%

of Americans
say they need
life insurance

41%

own an
individually
purchased
policy

Sources: Life and Health Insurance Foundation for Education; LIMRA International.

Insuring the times of your life

If someone would suffer financially upon your death, you need life insurance. Here are some examples of specific life stages or life events that could trigger the need for life insurance.

Married or Getting Married



Most families depend on two incomes to make ends meet. If you died suddenly, would your spouse have enough money to cover your funeral costs, credit card balances, outstanding loans and daily living expenses?

A Parent or About to Become One

Raising a child is arguably the most rewarding thing a person can do in life. But it's also one of the most expensive. If you died tomorrow, would your spouse have the financial wherewithal to provide your children with the



opportunities you always dreamed they'd have? From diapers to diplomas, would there be enough income to pay for day care, a college education and

everything in between? Even parents who don't work outside the home need life insurance because they provide services that would be expensive to replace, such as child care, transportation and household chores. And what about single parents? They need life insurance more than anyone because their children rely on them for everything.

A Homeowner

If you're like most people, your home is your most significant financial asset. Life insurance can protect your investment and spare your family the disruption of being forced to find a new, less expensive place to live. Plus, it can provide the funds needed to help family members maintain the lifestyle to which they're accustomed.



Changing Jobs

If you've recently been promoted or changed jobs, it's a good time to re-evaluate your life insurance coverage. Why? You might not realize it, but when your income rises, your spending tends to rise, too. Updating your life insurance coverage can help ensure that your family would be able to maintain its new and improved lifestyle if something were to happen to you.

Retired or Planning for Retirement

If your children are on their own and your mortgage is paid off, you might feel your need for life insurance has passed. But if you died today, your spouse could outlive you by 10, 20 or 30 years. It's certainly possible nowadays. Would your spouse have to make drastic lifestyle adjustments to make ends meet? Adequate life insurance coverage can help widows and widowers avoid financial struggles in retirement.



Single

Most single people don't have a pressing need for life insurance because



no one depends on them financially. But there are exceptions. If you're providing financial support for aging parents or siblings, or if you're carrying significant debt you

wouldn't want passed on to family members, you should consider life insurance.

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LIFE INSURANCE
AWARENESS MONTH
SEPTEMBER 2006



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On Your Side



How much do you need?

The toughest part of buying life insurance is determining how much you need. Since everyone's financial circumstances and goals are different, there is no rule of thumb that can tell you with any precision how much to buy. But with a little bit of effort you can come up with a good estimate that takes into account your specific financial situation.

The best way to determine your life insurance needs is to have an insurance professional conduct what's called a Financial Needs Analysis.

Here's how it works. You'll start by gathering all of your personal financial information and estimating what your family members would need after you're gone to meet current and future financial obligations (see right).

Next, tally up all of the resources that your surviving family members could draw upon to support themselves. The difference between their needs and the resources in place to meet those needs is your need for additional life insurance (see below).

This mathematical equation seems simple enough, but coming up with all the inputs can get tricky. Plus, you'll need to factor in the effects of inflation and assumptions about how much your investments will earn over the long run.

For an estimate that takes all these variables into account, you can visit a variety of insurance needs calculators on the Internet (including one from the nonprofit Life and Health Insurance Foundation for Education at www.life-line.org/lifecalculator). Just remember that online calculators are no substitute for the advice you'll get by meeting with a qualified insurance professional.



Calculating Your Life Insurance Needs

Current and
future financial
obligations

Spouse's earnings,
savings,
investments and
life insurance
you already own

**Life
Insurance
Needed**

How Much Is Enough?

The average insured adult American has roughly \$169,700 in life insurance coverage, or about four times his or her gross annual income.* When you consider all the things that life insurance proceeds need to fund and how long the money will be needed, you begin to realize that your true need for coverage is often 10, 15 or even 20 times your gross annual income.

Life Insurance Proceeds Can Help Fund Many Types of Expenses

Immediate Expenses

- ✓ Funeral costs
- ✓ Uncovered medical expenses
- ✓ Mortgage and other debt
- ✓ Taxes
- ✓ Estate settlement costs

Ongoing Expenses

- ✓ Food
- ✓ Housing
- ✓ Utilities
- ✓ Transportation
- ✓ Health care
- ✓ Clothing
- ✓ Insurance

Future Expenses

- ✓ College
- ✓ Retirement

*Source: LIMRA International.

WOULD DOING A 180° ON I-95 CONVINCE YOU TO START THINKING ABOUT LIFE INSURANCE?

OR WOULD YOU NEED TO DO A COMPLETE 360°?

At Allstate, we're always thinking about life insurance. We consider things you wouldn't want to, like the 43,000 people who lost their lives in car accidents last year. And that nearly 50% of families don't have enough, or any, life insurance. What would happen to your family if something happened to you? The time to start thinking about life insurance is before you need it. That's Allstate's Stand.

Talk to someone who knows life insurance at one of our 13,600 agencies.
Or visit allstate.com/lifeinsurance

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Source: Department of Transportation NHTSA 2005 Report, LIMRA U.S. Life Insurance Ownership, 2005 Study. Availability from a particular company varies by product. Subject to availability and qualifications. Allstate term life insurance issued by Allstate Insurance Company, Allstate Indemnity Company, Allstate Property and Casualty Insurance Company, Allstate Fire and Casualty Insurance Company, Lincoln, IL. Life insurance provided by Allstate Life Insurance Company (ALIC), Northbrook, IL, and Lincoln Benefit Company (LBC), Lincoln, NE. In New York, life insurance issued by Allstate Life Insurance Company of New York, New Canaan, NY. ALIC and LBC are not licensed in New York. © 2006 Allstate Insurance Company.



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What kind should you buy?

The most basic feature of a life insurance policy is the death benefit: the lump-sum payment your beneficiaries would receive if you die. It's the core reason to own life insurance—but not the only one. Some types of life insurance offer other features that might play an important role in your financial game plan, such as the ability to accumulate cash value that grows over time.

Term Insurance

Life insurance that pays only a death benefit is called term insurance. It provides protection for a specific period of time—the “term”—and is designed for temporary circumstances. It makes the most sense when your need for coverage will disappear at some point, such as when your children graduate from college or when a debt is paid off. The most common term policies provide coverage for 20 years, but they can run the gamut from one-year policies to terms of 30 years or even longer. Typically, term insurance offers the greatest amount of coverage for the lowest initial premium and is a good choice for young families on a tight budget.

Permanent Insurance

Permanent insurance offers lifelong protection, and you can accumulate cash value on a tax-deferred basis. This cash account can be used for a variety of purposes, from helping you out of a tight financial spot, to providing funds to take advantage of an opportunity, to supplementing your retirement income. The downside? Initial premiums are considerably higher than what you would pay for a term policy with the same face amount.

Term or Permanent

	Term	Permanent
Length of coverage	A specified term, typically 20 years.	Until age 100 or later, as long as premiums are paid.
Premiums	Based on your age and health, but typically lower than those of permanent insurance.	Initially higher than term premiums, but often level for life.
Cash value	None.	Accumulates over time on a tax-deferred basis.
Key advantage	Typically offers the highest death benefit for the lowest cost.	Offers lifelong protection and tax-deferred savings.
Key disadvantage	Any number of factors (age, health status, etc.) could make it too expensive to continue coverage after the “term” expires.	Initially larger premiums could make it difficult to buy amount of protection needed.

Permanent insurance falls into four main categories.

Whole life is the simplest and most common option.

Premiums remain fixed for life, and the death benefit and rate of return on your cash value are guaranteed. With **variable life**, you can seek potentially better returns by allocating your fixed premiums among stocks, bonds and guaranteed-return accounts. **Universal life** offers the flexibility of varying the amount of your premium payments. It also offers the certainty of a guaranteed minimum death benefit as long as your premiums are sufficient to sustain it. If you do not maintain those minimum premiums, your death benefit can be reduced. **Variable universal life** premium payments are also adjustable after the first one, subject to the minimum needed to keep the policy in force, and you can allocate them among investments that offer varying degrees of risk and reward.

Features Unique to Permanent Insurance

Access to Cash

A policy's cash value can be surrendered, in total or in part, for cash that can be put toward important uses like a child's education, a business opportunity or supplemental retirement income. Also, you can borrow from your insurer at favorable rates—without credit checks or other restrictions—and use the cash value as collateral.

Flexibility

If you need to stop paying premiums, the cash value can keep your insurance protection in force for a period of time.

Guaranteed Coverage

As long as you pay your premiums, you'll have the coverage for life and won't need to worry about being unable to afford coverage if your health deteriorates.

Stable Premiums

With many types of permanent insurance, premiums will remain constant or stable over your lifetime. With term insurance, premiums will increase substantially as you age.

Tax Advantages

Cash value accumulates on a tax-deferred basis, just like assets in most retirement and college savings plans.

3 ways to buy life insurance

Through an Insurance Professional

Most people need help conducting the kind of detailed financial assessment needed to determine how much life insurance to buy. That's why they usually turn to a qualified insurance professional, a licensed expert who knows the right questions to ask to determine how much and what kind of insurance is right for you.

At Work

Many workplace benefits packages include an employer-paid basic life insurance benefit, often equal to one or two times your annual salary. While it's nice to have, it might not be enough to cover your needs and you typically can't take it with you. If you want additional coverage, you may be able to purchase it through your employer, or you can buy it on your own.

Direct Purchasing

You can purchase coverage via the Internet, over the phone or by mail. The better services, however, won't allow you to complete the purchasing process until you've spoken with a qualified insurance professional. Buying through a service where the onus is entirely on you to figure out which policy is right for you only makes sense when you're very confident that you know what you need. Also, keep in mind that typically only term insurance is available through direct-buying channels.

Smart Buying Tips

Don't rush into a decision. Make sure you fully understand any policy you are considering.

You have a "free look" period of 10 to 30 days after your purchase, during which time you can change your mind. Use the time to carefully read over your policy.

When you replace one policy with another you incur new costs and fees. That's why, generally speaking, it's in your best interest to keep a policy you already have and add on to your insurance protection instead of replacing an existing policy. If you do decide to cancel a policy, contact the original agent or company first to make sure you fully understand the financial ramifications.

If you have a concern or complaint, start with your insurance professional, who can often troubleshoot problems for you. If you're still dissatisfied, most state insurance departments have a consumer affairs division that handles complaints, or you can contact your insurance company's customer service division.

Review your coverage every few years, or when changes occur, such as purchasing a home or having children. An insurance professional can help you make sure your coverage is always aligned with your needs.

How to Find the Right Insurance Professional

- **Get referrals from friends,** relatives or a trusted advisor, such as a lawyer or accountant.
- **Interview at least two insurance professionals** to establish a basis for comparison.
- **Find out about specialties** to make sure the insurance professional is an expert in the advice and products you need.
- **Ask about education and training.** Professional designations, such as Chartered Life Underwriter (CLU), Chartered Financial Consultant (ChFC) and Certified Financial Planner (CFP®), indicate the insurance professional has completed advanced training courses and is serious about professional growth and development.
- **Work with an insurance professional** who is a member of a professional association such as the National Association of Insurance and Financial Advisors, which means he or she adheres to a stringent code of ethics.



LIFE INSURANCE ISN'T FOR THE PEOPLE WHO DIE. IT'S FOR THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE.

Shanna and Ebony's mom, Jackie, a single parent, bought life insurance so her girls would be taken care of if she was unable to provide for them.

Then, it happened. Jackie was diagnosed with incurable lung cancer. The terminal illness benefit allowed her to purchase a new home for the girls and put money away for their education. Thanks to the plans she made, they will have everything she wanted for them.

Are you prepared should the very worst happen? Without adequate life insurance, your financial plans may be just a savings and investment program that dies when you do. Consult a qualified insurance professional to help you create a plan that will continue to provide for the ones you love.



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LIFE INSURANCE
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Shanna and Ebony Blanchard

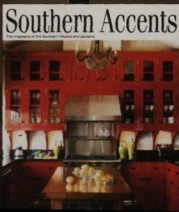
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THE NINE
ABC, WEDNESDAYS, 10 P.M.
E.T.; PREMIERES OCT. 4

LATE ONE FINE AFTERNOON, nine innocents are caught in a bank robbery. The hostages are rescued after a bloody 52-hr. ordeal. In between, life-changing things happen, some noble, some regrettable. But what, exactly? We don't see, and the answer is the key to this whodunit. It's a high-wire premise—how long can the series keep us in the dark about a riddle the characters all know the answer to? The tense pilot suggests the series has a few twists up its sleeve and a cast up to the challenge: as suicidal nerd turned hero Egan Foote, John Billingsley looks like the season's breakout character. Not only for how it teases out the brutal events inside the bank but also for how it shows the bonds among the survivors rebuilding their lives, this post-hostage drama is, well, captivating.



PAIR OF NINE: Jessica Collins and Scott Wolf get captured

5 NEW FALL DRAMAS TO PUT ON YOUR SCHEDULE

What's worth catching this season? If you like ambitious serials, try these

struggling to go straight. It's a drama of chance with enough charm to roll the dice on.

DEXTER
SHOWTIME, SUNDAYS, 10 P.M.
E.T.; PREMIERES OCT. 1

THE SAYING "IT TAKES A THIEF to catch a thief" apparently goes double for serial killers. Dexter Morgan (Michael C. Hall) is a suave psychopath whose cop father taught him to channel his murderous impulses—by killing only other murderers. Hall, an undertaker on *Six Feet Under*, makes a seamless transition to the supply side of the death business, helping cops sleuth out killers to pay the bills while coolly meting out justice on the side. Or is it justice? The morals of this provocative show are as intriguing as its cases.

▼ FRIDAY NIGHT LIGHTS
NBC, TUESDAYS, 8 P.M. E.T.; PREMIERES OCT. 3

YOU DON'T NEED TO KNOW A quarterback from a halfback—I'm told those are football terms—to appreciate this drama about a high school team in gridiron-obsessed Texas. The fictionalized version of the based-on-a-nonfiction-best-seller movie

(directed by Peter Berg, who coproduces and directs here) has the same quick-cut look, crisp dialogue and bone-crunching game scenes. And the series promises to get deeper into the lives of the players, who are treated like gods and movie stars—as long as they win. Kyle Chandler is cool and cagey as the new coach who receives the subtly menacing good wishes of the townsfolk, while a strong young cast ably inhabits the pressured lives of kids whose futures ride on a sport that is far more than a game.

HEROES
NBC, MONDAYS, 9 P.M. E.T.; PREMIERES SEPT. 25

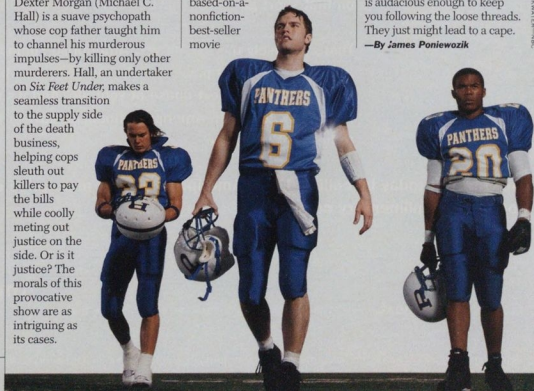
FORGET BIRD FLU; IN THIS thriller, there's a pandemic of superpowers. A cheerleader who can't be injured, a drug addict whose visions come true and many others discover their abilities in separate stories that promise to converge. The eerie mood of mystery recalls *Lost*, as does the big cast of characters (so many that the extra-long pilot does not introduce all of them). The writing is uneven—a plot about a Japanese geek who can teleport is engaging; others are flat or clichéd—but the idea is audacious enough to keep you following the loose threads. They just might lead to a cape.

—By James Poniewozik

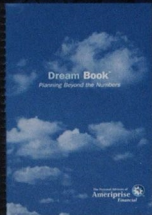


▲ SIX DEGREES
ABC, THURSDAYS, 10 P.M. E.T.; PREMIERES SEPT. 21

WAS KEVIN BACON UNAVAILABLE? Beats me, but this serial about connected strangers still has dramatic muscle. Steven (Campbell Scott) is a great photographer in a slump... who is hired by ad exec Whitney (Bridget Moynahan)... who befriends recent widow Laura (Hope Davis)... who hires as her nanny mystery girl Mae (Erika Christensen)... who attracts the attention of cop Carlos (Jay Hernandez, above, with Christensen)... who forms an alliance with Damian (Dorian Missick), a gambler



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FLYING SOUTH FOR THE WINTER

By DANIEL KADLEC

LIFE AFTER WORK JOYCE THOMPSON, 58, LOVES THE WEATHER in Tucson, Ariz. She would love to stay there year-round, but most of her extended family lives in Saltville, Va., where she grew up, and she's determined to spend at least three months a year there with her mother. What Thompson, a career nurse, needed—and found—was a job that would

let her split her time between the two cities.

It turns out that Thompson's employer, Carondelet Health Network, offers what many believe will become, as the population ages, the hottest thing in job benefits since the 401(k): seamless employment in two or more places.

Most workers taking advantage of those programs are so-called snowbirds, who live in the North but flee the freezing temperatures from January through March. For a lot of reasons, the population of working snowbirds is expected to explode over the next few decades. For one thing, baby boomers are just beginning to enter their Florida years. Many are

"Snowbird" jobs that shift with the seasons could be the hottest thing since the 401(k)

determined to keep working on their own terms—some because they want to, others because they must.

The health-care industry, with its chronic shortage of nurses and burgeoning client base in Sun Belt states, is a natural pioneer of such programs. But increasingly, other kinds of companies are getting involved, especially giant retail chains like Borders, Home Depot and CVS Pharmacy.

Carondelet's program, which began five years ago, is among the oldest in the U.S. According to Jane Levine, Carondelet's director of human resources, it's having the intended effect: attracting nurses to Tucson from well-staffed hospitals in the North.



ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY GREG CLARKE

70%

Percentage of older employees who plan to work past age 65—or never retire at all

About 100 nurses representing 10% of the staff participate. "It gives us a good combination of seasoned professionals and new grads," says Levine.

Flexible employment—flex time, part time, job sharing and telecommuting—is more and more important to today's workers, and it's among the top criteria AARP uses when choosing its annual Best Employers for Workers over 50 list. Mercy

Health System in Janesville, Wis., another health-care provider, topped the list last month partly because of its snowbird program, which is designed to make it easy for staff members to escape Wisconsin's brutal winters. Carondelet and Mercy are the only two companies on the AARP list of 50 with snowbird programs, but Deborah Russell, who puts together the list for AARP, predicts that half her Best Employer companies will offer a snowbird option within five years. Already, Home Depot and CVS have about 300 warm-weather warriors each. They have little trouble absorbing their sun-loving workers because the crowds in

their stores fluctuate with the seasons.

There's been a lot of talk lately about the coming workforce crisis—a shortage of all kinds of skilled workers as boomers begin to retire. It hasn't hit yet, but it will. By 2014, folks 50 and older will make up nearly a third of the U.S. workforce, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Jobs for snowbirds are one way that thoughtful companies are preparing. And those programs are one more way that you can tailor your retirement years to what best suits your needs.

Kadlec's latest book is The Power Years: A User's Guide to the Rest of Your Life

51%

Percentage increase in the number of U.S. workers 55 to 64 expected from 2002 to 2012

GREEN TEA, BLACK COFFEE



ANDREW
WEIL, M.D.

COFFEE OR TEA? THERE'S A GROWING body of research to suggest that both are probably good for you.

We've heard a lot about the health benefits of tea, especially green tea.

It is high in polyphenols—compounds with strong antioxidant activity that in test-tube and animal models show anticancer and heart-protective effects. Good clinical studies are few, however, and although I and other

physicians tell our patients to drink green tea, there hasn't been any definitive proof of the value of that advice.

That's why I was so interested in a report last week in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. A team of Japanese researchers was able to link green-tea consumption with decreased mortality from all causes—including cardiovascular disease. The researchers tracked 40,530 healthy adults ages 40 to 79 in a region of northeastern Japan where most people drink green tea, following them for up to 11 years. Those who drank five or more cups of green tea a day had significantly

New evidence for the health benefits of two hot drinks

lower mortality rates than those who drank less than one cup a day. There were also fewer deaths from cardiovascular disease.

But no such association was seen with deaths from cancer. Nor was consumption of oolong or black tea correlated with any decrease in mortality. Those teas are more oxidized in processing, which not only darkens the color of the leaves and changes their flavor but also reduces

green tea • five cups a day



coffee • three cups a day

their polyphenol content.

Japanese people have access to better-quality green tea than do most North Americans. If you want the good stuff (like

gyokuro or matcha, the powdered tea used in Japanese tea ceremonies), go to the nearest specialty-tea shop, Asian grocery store or the Internet (try

japanesegreenteaonline.com, inpursuitoftea.com or matchaandmore.com).

Coffee is more complicated. It has received both gold stars and black marks in the medical literature. It too contains antioxidants, although they are less well studied than tea polyphenols. Evidence for the health benefits of coffee is growing, however. In the August issue of the *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, for example, a group of investigators from Finland, Italy and the Netherlands report that coffee seems to protect against age-related cognitive decline. The scientists studied 676 healthy men born from 1900 to 1920 and followed them for 10 years, using standardized measures of cognitive function. Their conclusion: the men who consumed coffee had significantly less cognitive impairment than those who didn't. Three cups a day seemed to provide maximum protection.

Population studies like those help us form hypotheses about relationships between dietary habits and long-term health. We still have to test our suppositions in controlled conditions and measure the effects of coffee and tea on various systems of the body.

In the meantime, enjoy your tea and coffee, get the best quality you can, and know that they are probably doing you more good than harm. ■

HOW BROWN SEAWEED BURNS OFF FAT

Chemists in Japan have found that brown seaweed, widely used in Asian cuisine, contains a compound, fucoxanthin, that may promote weight loss. Fed to obese rats and mice, fucoxanthin promoted the loss of abdominal fat by targeting a protein that increases the rate at which fat is burned. The chemists got their fucoxanthin from wakame, a tasty seaweed available in dried form in Asian groceries and natural-food stores. I like it in cucumber salad and soups. But don't expect to lose weight by simply adding wakame to your diet; you would have to eat a great deal of it to make any difference. Wait for further developments; the chemists say their research could lead to novel medications that may someday help people shed unwanted pounds.



Have a question for Dr. Weil about tea or coffee? Go to time.com/askdrweil



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smartstart.com

Lev Grossman

My Mortal Enemy

Stung by an unruly critic, our superhero book reviewer fights back

AS A KID EVERYTHING I EVER READ IN COMIC BOOKS LED ME to believe that my mutant superpowers would start manifesting themselves sometime around the age of puberty. Personally I was hoping for either superstretchiness or force bolts of some kind. Puberty arrived in due course, but no superpowers, and I have reluctantly tossed my goal of becoming a superhero on the ash heap of my broken dreams. I do, however, have an archenemy.

His name is Edward Champion, or at least I assume it is.

That's the name he blogs under. I've never met him. I don't know what he looks like, how old he is, or pretty much anything about him (or her?). Except that every few months he calls me an idiot on his website.

Idiot may not be his exact word. I'm not actually sure of his exact words, because I have a hard time reading his blog entries. I don't really look at them directly—I'm kind of hypersensitive to criticism, so I just side-glance at them, squinting, with my head at an angle to the monitor. I do know that in the past Edward Champion has called me a "chicken-head" and "the Uwe Boll of the book reviewing world." (Boll, the man responsible for *House of the Dead* and *BloodRayne*, is widely believed to be the worst director in the world, if not of all time.) Champion has also tossed out "preposterous," "irrelevant" and "malarkey." The first time I noticed Ed criticizing my writing I e-mailed him a response. His answer was so sarcastic it practically damaged my retinas.

I want to be clear: I don't think Ed Champion is an idiot. I've read some of the other, non-Lev Grossman-related posts on his blog (which is mostly about books), and have found them to be highly opinionated but otherwise cogent and well-informed, and sometimes even charming. Ed Champion is not insane. He's just unswervingly committed to the position that I am a complete tool.

I know, I know, I should toughen up. Blogging is a knock-about sport, and as a writer I'm fair game. You'd think I could just ignore Ed Champion (you can find him at edrants.com; yeah, go ahead, don't all click at once), and most of the time I do. But it's harder than you'd think. Blogs reach a big audience. People read him. People link to him. Google frickin'

loves Ed. Not long ago I set up a website of my own, and despite the fact that it's my website, and it deals with nothing but Lev Grossman, and it's located at levgrossman.com, Ed's website still comes up ahead of mine half the time. Somebody once asked me if I had killed Ed Champion's puppy, or what? (Yes, Ed, I did kill your puppy. With my mutant force bolts!)

I don't want to oversell this. I'm pretty sure I spend way more time thinking about Ed Champion than he spends thinking about me. But Ed isn't my only weird, ectoplasmic Internet relationship.

My life is increasingly being invaded by these people. There's a woman (or a man, or possibly a robot) named MoFlo4Sho who e-mails me a couple of dozen times a day with her various insane thoughts about religion and celebrities. It's one of the singular features of our little social-technological moment that people all over the world whom we otherwise would never even be aware of can effortlessly impinge upon our minds and lives and desktops. We probably see fewer people in person these days, but our lives are populated by an entire chorus of disembodied presences, amplified and directed by the Internet, as if we had all begun to suffer from a mild form of schizophrenia. Everybody talks a little louder now. There's a little less mental elbow room.

I suppose it's only fair. I mean, here I am impinging on all of you on the back page of TIME magazine. Why shouldn't Ed Champion get to talk back? In a way writers do have a superpower, the power to transmit our thoughts to other people around the world with a few keystrokes. Why should we be the only ones? Why should we get to be in the X-Men, while everybody else is merely human?

No reason at all. But listen, Edward Champion, if that is your real name (and if you're the Champion, what does that make me? Now that we're all superheroes, all I ask is that you use your powers for good. Let's take each other seriously and respond in good faith. Let's not bandy words around thoughtlessly or maliciously—there's enough of that going on already, what with Uwe Boll and MoFlo4Sho out there. After all, at the end of the day, we're not so different, you and I.

Except that I'm getting paid for this.



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